United Nations S/PV.3455

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3455th Meeting
Thursday, 10 November 1994, 11 a.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

Letter dated 2 November 1994 from the President of the Trusteeship Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1234)

94-87025 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 2 November 1994 from the President of the Trusteeship Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1234)

The President: I should like to inform the Security Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Australia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Butler (Australia) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/1234, which contains the text of a letter dated 2 November 1994 from the President of the Trusteeship Council addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/1264, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1994/1200, which contains the text of a letter dated 17 October 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/1994/1264) before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 956 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): Since France is currently serving as President of the Trusteeship Council, it is a special pleasure for me to welcome the adoption by the Security Council of the resolution recording the accession of the Republic of Palau to independence. This resolution is the final necessary step to mark the end of the Trusteeship System's applicability to Palau.

On this occasion, I should like to extend to the Government and people of Palau our best wishes for every success in their first undertakings as an independent State. In particular, it is my hope that the Republic of Palau will shortly be joining us as the youngest Member of the United Nations. Your thanks must also go to the Administering Power, the United States of America, for having successfully carried out the mandate entrusted to it, which comes to an end with the entry into force of the Compact of Free Association between Palau and the United States.

The date of its entry into force, 1 October 1994, is historic for another reason: with Palau's accession to independence, the Trusteeship Council has successfully completed the task entrusted to it under the Charter of the United Nations with respect to those Territories placed under the Trusteeship System following the Second World War. This is why, during its session last May, it adopted an amendment to its rules of procedure under which it no longer needs to meet regularly. This formula

reduces to the minimum the budgetary implications of its continued operation, whose cost will henceforth be negligible for the Organization, without there being any need to contemplate any modification of its status, thus not closing any doors for the future. Consequently, we should think twice before recommending that the Charter be amended to terminate the legal existence of that body.

The Trusteeship Council thus remains an instrument that the international community could resort to if necessary.

The work of the Trusteeship Council represents a considerable success by the United Nations: all the Territories placed under the Trusteeship System are now complete masters of their destinies. The task was by no means an easy one, and our resolution recording the independence of Palau should therefore be regarded as something more than a routine step.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): The resolution which the Council has just adopted marks a significant moment in the history of the Trusteeship Council and, indeed, in the history of the United Nations. The termination of the Trusteeship Agreement for the last Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Palau, represents the successful end of an important chapter in the work of the Trusteeship Council.

The United Kingdom currently holds the vice-presidency of the Trusteeship Council. It is therefore with great pleasure that I congratulate the people of Palau, who celebrated the implementation of the Compact of Free Association with the United State on 1 October this year. We look forward to the day when they will take their place as a Member State of the United Nations.

The United Kingdom has long enjoyed friendly relations with the people of Palau; they go back to the year 1783. I must also congratulate and thank the United States which, as administering Power, has honoured the trust placed in it by the United Nations and worked to ensure the well-being and prosperity of the people of Palau.

The decision just taken by this Council therefore marks the conclusion of the immediate responsibilities of the Trusteeship Council. The United Kingdom takes this opportunity to extend its thanks to all those, in particular the members of the staff of the United Nations, who have over the years worked towards this goal in accordance with the principles laid down in the Charter.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): New Zealand warmly welcomes today's decision by the Security Council to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement in respect of Palau. We congratulate Palau most warmly on this historic occasion.

This is a development which we and the other nations of the South Pacific have looked forward to for some time, and we greet it with much pleasure and satisfaction. With this final formal step, all four constituent Governments of the former Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands — the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and the Republic of Palau — have now freely exercised their right to self-determination and moved beyond the status of Trust Territories into independence or self-government.

The people of Palau have made a critical decision, and the Compact of Free Association with the United States entered into force on 1 October. We welcome Palau's emergence into full nationhood and we wish the Palauans every success as they proceed with the task of pursuing the economic and social well-being and advancement of their country. We now look forward to working with them as full partners in the South Pacific Forum, and we offer them our support and cooperation in addressing our common regional and global concerns. We hope that the day will soon come when we can also welcome them here into the United Nations.

We commend the United States also for its role as Administering Authority in fostering the development of Palau's political institutions to this point. We also recognize the role played by the Trusteeship Council in promoting the progressive self-government of Palau and all the former Trust Territories.

The adoption of today's resolution is, as others have said, doubly significant. It marks not only the end of Palau's former dependent political status but also the completion of the work entrusted to the Trusteeship Council under Chapters XII and XIII of the Charter. This brings to a successful conclusion a very important phase in United Nations history and is testimony to the ideals set out in the Charter half a century ago.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Russian delegation is very pleased to note that, the tasks assigned to the United Nations Trusteeship System having been fully discharged, a significant contribution has been made to the solution of

questions involving the exercise by peoples of their inalienable right to self-determination.

The resolution unanimously adopted today by the Security Council terminates the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement with respect to the last Trust Territory, Palau. The adoption of this resolution, as my colleagues have mentioned today, is not only a turning point in the centuries-old history of the people of Palau, but also an important event for the entire United Nations, which will soon be celebrating its fiftieth anniversary.

We would like to wholeheartedly congratulate the people and the Government of the Republic of Palau on their accession to independence and wish the citizens of that beautiful country well-being and prosperity. We are certain that that State, like other former Trust Territories, will soon become a full-fledged member of the international community.

The Russian delegation would also like to express its appreciation to our partners in the Trusteeship Council — the delegations of China, France, the United Kingdom and the United States — as well as to the Secretariat of the United Nations for their constructive work.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The resolution which has been just adopted unanimously by the Security Council is of historical significance. It not only announces to the world the termination of Palau's status as a Trust Territory and the birth of an independent Palau, but also marks the fulfilment of the historical task entrusted to the United Nations Trusteeship System under the United Nations Charter. For this, we wish to express our welcome.

The United Nations Trusteeship System was established under special historical conditions obtaining after the Second World War. The principal task set forth in the United Nations Charter for the International Trusteeship System is to further international peace and security and promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence. Thanks to the long, unwavering efforts of the people of the Trust Territories and the international community, a number of Trust Territories have, one after another, terminated their trusteeship status and become independent and equal members of the international community.

After the termination in 1990 of the trusteeship over part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands — namely, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands and the Northern Mariana Islands — Palau became the only remaining Trust Territory under the United Nations Trusteeship System.

With the assistance of the United Nations, Palau held a plebiscite on its future political status in November of last year. The outcome of the plebiscite proved that the people of Palau were ready to terminate Palau's status as a Trust Territory and to achieve national self-determination and independence. On 1 October this year, the Republic of Palau was declared independent. On 30 September this year, His Excellency Mr. Jiang Zemin, President of the People's Republic of China, sent a telegram to His Excellency Mr. Kuniwo Nakamura, President of the Republic of Palau, to extend, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, warm congratulations to the Government and the people of Palau and to announce the Chinese Government's decision to recognize the Government of the Republic of Palau. The Chinese delegation wishes to take this opportunity to extend again its warm congratulations to the Government and the people of Palau and to express its appreciation for the efforts and contributions made by the parties concerned.

Over the years, the Chinese Government and people have consistently supported the peoples of the Trust Territories, including the people of Palau, in their efforts for national self-determination and independence. On several occasions, the Chinese delegation has sent important officials to Palau to participate in the work of the United Nations with respect to that country.

We respect the political choice made by the people of Palau concerning their country's political future based on their own free will and hope that the people of Palau will achieve new victories in their endeavour to safeguard their national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and in the cause of building up their country. The Chinese Government and people are willing further to develop the friendship between our two countries and our two peoples and to promote friendly relations and cooperation with equality and mutual benefit on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Security Council has just adopted resolution 956 (1994), which had our complete support. We thank France, as President of the Trusteeship

Council, and the United States, as Administering Authority, for their work with regard to the exercise by the people of Palau of their right to self-determination, which led to the independence of Palau and to agreement on a Compact of Free Association with the United States.

Spain has a long history of close connections with the Palau archipelago ever since the islands were first visited by the Spanish navigator Ruy López de Villalobos in 1543. The first printed reference to the archipelago was also the work of a Spaniard: Father Pablo Clain, who in 1697 published a volume entitled *Breve Noticia del Nuevo Descubrimiento de las Islas Palis o Palaos*. The islands had links with the Spanish crown until 1899.

The delegation of Spain wishes most warmly to congratulate the people of Palau on this historic occasion. We wish them peace and prosperity, and hope we shall soon see the representatives of Palau in the United Nations family.

With the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement for Palau, the long work of the Trusteeship Council under Chapter XII of the Charter has been crowned with success. Today gives us one more opportunity to congratulate the Trusteeship Council on its work and to look to the future with confidence.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the United States.

The United States warmly congratulates the Republic of Palau on the occasion of its independence and looks forward to the day when the people of Palau joins us here as a Member of the United Nations.

The United States served for 47 years as Administering Authority in Palau pursuant to its Trusteeship Agreement with the United Nations. In exercising its obligations as Administering Authority, the United States sought to fulfil the expectations of the international community and, pursuant to Article 76 of the United Nations Charter, to promote the economic, social and educational advancement of the people of Palau. During this period, the United States has always recognized and supported the fundamental premise of the Trusteeship: that the people of Palau must be free to follow the path of their choosing in conducting their relations with the rest of the world. As President Clinton noted in his congratulatory message on Palau's independence,

> "We are gratified that the people of Palau, through democratic processes, have expressed their will to continue in a special relationship with the United States by joining in a Compact of Free Association between our two sovereign States."

We will consult closely with Palau on how the United States can assist that nation as it seeks to take its place in the world, develop its economy and preserve its unique environment. In so doing, we intend to take full account of the preferences of the people of Palau.

Throughout the history of the United States, we have consistently supported a policy that the countries and peoples of the Pacific should be able to chart their own destinies. Implementation of the Compact of Free Association signals yet again that the United States is committed to remaining engaged in the Pacific in an effort to help ensure its security and prosperity.

With the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement with respect to Palau, the United Nations has concluded another chapter in its exemplary effort to bring self-determination to all corners of the world. It is one of the accomplishments of which we all can be most proud.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

The representative of Australia has asked to make a statement. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Butler (Australia): I have the honour to address the Council in Australia's capacity as current Chair of the group of South Pacific countries, on behalf of the Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, the Marshall Islands, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Western Samoa and Australia.

The resolution the Security Council has just adopted is an historic one. The Council's decision, in the light of the entry into force on 1 October 1994 of the new status agreement for Palau, that the objectives of the Trusteeship Agreement have been fully attained and that the applicability of the Trusteeship Agreement is terminated with respect to Palau, is one which the member States of the South Pacific group warmly welcome.

This decision is the final stage in the process set in train following the act of self-determination by the people

of Palau on 9 November 1993, when they chose to enter into a Compact of Free Association with the United States. The United Nations Visiting Mission that observed the plebiscite reported to the Trusteeship Council that the plebiscite had been conducted in a free and fair manner and that the results reflected the wishes of the people of Palau.

The act of self-determination was subsequently endorsed by the Trusteeship Council, which concluded in its resolution 2199 (LXI) of 25 May 1994 that the people of Palau had freely exercised their right to self-determination in choosing their future status and that the United States had satisfactorily discharged its obligations under the Trusteeship Agreement of 18 July 1947.

The positive developments which have occurred recently in Palau, in particular the exercise by the people of their right to self-determination, have been followed with close interest and with the full support of the member States of the South Pacific group. We congratulate the people of Palau on their decision to enter into the Compact of Free Association with the United States.

We also wish to congratulate the United States on successfully discharging its obligations under the trusteeship arrangements and on advising the Security Council of the entry into force, on 1 October 1994, of the Compact of Free Association.

We also wish to express our appreciation to the Trusteeship Council for the role it has played in support of the exercise by the people of Palau of their right to self-determination and for fully discharging its obligations to Palau under the United Nations Trusteeship System.

Palau, as a country in the Pacific region, already has very close ties with the other Member States of that region. The strength of the relationships that exist was demonstrated by the large attendance at the independence celebrations on 1 October by representatives from countries from the Asia-Pacific region, as well as by representatives of the United Nations, the South Pacific Forum and the South Pacific Commission.

We are confident that these relationships will continue to develop and grow stronger now that Palau has embarked upon a new path as an independent country.

The countries of the South Pacific, some of which were former Trust Territories which also gained their independence under the United Nations Trusteeship System, are committed to cooperating closely with Palau as it sets out on this new and exciting journey.

We wish the people of Palau success and prosperity in the future as members of the international and regional community.

The President: There are no further names on the list of speakers.

The Security Council has thus concluded its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3456

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3456th Meeting
Sunday, 13 November 1994, 1.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Fujita
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Laclaustra
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Letter dated 11 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1283)

Letter dated 12 November 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1286)

94-87037 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 1.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Letter dated 11 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1283)

Letter dated 12 November 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1286)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Drobnjak (Croatia) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting in response to the requests contained in a letter dated 11 November 1994 from the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitted by a letter of the same date from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/1994/1283, and in a letter dated 12 November 1994 from the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Croatia addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitted by a letter of the same date from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/1994/1286.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/1271, letter dated 9 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1994/1285, letter dated 11 November 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 12 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting a letter dated 11 November 1994 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina addressed to the President of the Security Council, which will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/1994/1287.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council views with alarm the escalation in recent fighting in the Bihac area, and the flow of refugees and displaced persons resulting from it. It strongly urges all parties and others concerned to refrain from all hostile actions and to exercise the utmost restraint.

"The Security Council condemns any violation of the international border between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It demands that all parties and others concerned, and in particular the so-called Krajina Serb forces fully respect that border and refrain from hostile acts across it.

"The Security Council calls upon all parties and others concerned to abstain from any action that could cause a further escalation in the fighting.

"The Security Council demands that all parties and others concerned immediately ensure, in cooperation with the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), unimpeded access for humanitarian supplies.

"The Security Council expresses full support for the efforts of UNPROFOR and calls on the parties to respect UNPROFOR's safety and security, unimpeded access to supplies, and its freedom of movement.

"The Security Council emphasizes the significance of its resolutions on safe areas and demands that all concerned facilitate implementation of these resolutions and in this connection requests the Secretary-General to report as soon as possible on any further measures to stabilize the situation in and around the safe area of Bihac, drawing on UNPROFOR's experience in Bihac and the other safe areas".

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/66.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3457

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3457th Meeting
Tuesday, 15 November 1994, 11 a.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	New Zealand	Ms. Wong
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Niaz
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Laclaustra
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Arkwright

Agenda

The situation concerning Western Sahara

Report by the Secretary-General (S/1994/1257)

94-87067 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Western Sahara

Report by the Secretary-General (S/1994/1257)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report by the Secretary-General on the situation concerning Western Sahara, document S/1994/1257.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council notes the report of the Secretary-General dated 5 November 1994 (S/1994/1257). It shares the Secretary-General's view that the launching of the identification and registration of potential voters on 28 August 1994, in the presence of the observers as agreed, marked a significant step towards the fulfilment of the United Nations mandate on Western Sahara.

"The Security Council calls on the two parties to maintain their cooperation with the Secretary-General and MINURSO in their efforts to implement as soon as possible the Settlement Plan in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Council.

"The Security Council is, however, concerned about the slow speed of the identification process, in particular the fact that only a very small proportion of the potential voters have been identified and interviewed to date. While recognizing the difficulties involved, including the handling of a large number of last-minute applications, the Council urges the two parties to exert all possible efforts to facilitate MINURSO's work and urges the earliest possible deployment of the Identification Commission staff already approved by the General Assembly (resolution 48/250 B of 13 July 1994) in order to accelerate this process.

"The Security Council welcomes the Secretary-General's decision to visit the region later this month, and hopes that on this occasion he will be able to report significant progress towards implementing the Settlement Plan and holding the now long-overdue referendum. It looks forward to receiving his report following this visit and following the report of the technical team, charged with reassessing the logistic and other requirements for possible deployment of MINURSO at full strength. In the light of that report, including information on progress achieved in the work of the Identification Commission as well as other aspects relevant to the fulfilment of the Settlement Plan, the Council hopes to be able to take appropriate decisions on the organization and timing of the referendum. In doing so it strongly believes that there must be no further undue delay in the holding of a free, fair and impartial referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara in accordance with the Settlement Plan."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/67.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.25 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3458

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3458th Meeting
Tuesday, 15 November 1994, 3.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Ms. Wong
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Niaz
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

The situation in Mozambique

Letter dated 9 November 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1282)

94-87073 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 3.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Mozambique

Letter dated 9 November 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1282)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Mozambique, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Afonso (Mozambique) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/1282, which contains the text of a letter dated 9 November 1994 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/1293, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/1002, further report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Mozambique; and S/1994/1009, report of the Security Council Mission established pursuant to the statement made by the President of the Security Council at the 3406th meeting, held on 19 July 1994 (S/PRST/1994/35).

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it in document S/1994/1293. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 957 (1994).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3459

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3459th Meeting

Wednesday, 16 November 1994, 12.15 p.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Zawels
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Niaz
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

94-87082 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 12.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/1994/1288, letter dated 13 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of a letter dated 12 November 1994 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/1994/1291, letter dated 13 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Kuwait to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

> "The Security Council has received the letter addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Foreign Minister of Iraq dated 12 November 1994 (S/1994/1288), enclosing copies of Revolution Command Council Decision No. 200 of 10 November 1994, signed by its President, Mr. Saddam Hussein, and the Declaration of the Iraqi National Assembly, also of 10 November 1994, which confirm Iraq's irrevocable and unqualified recognition of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the State of Kuwait, and of the international boundary between the Republic of Iraq and the State of Kuwait as demarcated by the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission, and confirm Iraq's respect for the inviolability of that boundary, in accordance with Security Council resolution 833 (1993).
>
> "The Security Council welcomes this development and the President of the Security Council has written to the Permanent Representative of Iraq accordingly, in a letter dated 16 November 1994 (S/1994/1297). The Council notes that Iraq has taken this action in compliance with Security Council resolution 833 (1993) and has unequivocally committed itself by full and formal constitutional procedures to respect Kuwait's sovereignty, territorial integrity and borders, as required by Security Council resolutions 687 (1991), 833 (1993) and 949 (1994).
>
> "The Security Council considers this decision by Iraq to be a significant step in the direction towards implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions. In the above-mentioned letter, the President of the Security Council informed the Government of Iraq that the members of the Security Council will follow closely Iraq's implementation of its decision; they will also continue to keep under review Iraq's actions to complete its compliance with all the relevant Security Council resolutions."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/68.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3460

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3460th Meeting

Friday, 18 November 1994, 7.15 p.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Peláez
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	New Zealand	Mr. McKinnon
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Hassan
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

94-87137 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 7.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took places at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/1289, S/1994/1292, S/1994/1294 and S/1994/1300, letters dated 14, 14, 15 and 16 November 1994 respectively from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1994/1295, letter dated 15 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council condemns in the strongest possible terms the attack on the safe area of Bihac by aircraft belonging to the so-called Krajina Serb forces, which involved the dropping of napalm and cluster bombs in southwest Bihac, in clear violation of Bihac's status as a safe area. This violation is all the more grave because of the threat it poses to United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops deployed in the safe area of Bihac.

"The Security Council also condemns the shelling by the so-called Krajina Serb forces from the United Nations Protected Areas as a flagrant violation of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and relevant Security Council resolutions. It demands that all parties and others concerned, in particular the so-called Krajina Serb forces, cease immediately all hostile actions across the international border between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"The Security Council further demands an immediate end to all military activity which endangers the lives of the UNPROFOR personnel deployed in the Bihac area, and that all parties and others concerned, in particular the so-called Krajina Serb forces, restore the freedom of movement of UNPROFOR personnel in and around the Bihac area, including their unimpeded access to supplies.

"The Security Council calls on all parties and others concerned to refrain from any hostile action that could cause further escalation in the fighting and also calls on them to achieve urgently a cease-fire in the Bihac area".

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/69.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3461

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3461st Meeting
Saturday, 19 November 1994, 2 p.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Fujita
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

The situation prevailing in and around the safe area of Bihac

94-87143 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 2 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation prevailing in and around the safe area of Bihac

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Germany, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took places at the Council table; Mr. Graf zu Rantzau (Germany) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/1316, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, the Russian Federation, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. Germany has joined as a sponsor of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1316.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1994/1312, which contains the text of a letter dated 18 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of a letter dated 18 November 1994 from the President of the Republic of Croatia addressed to the President of the Security Council, and that of a letter dated 18 November 1994 from the President of the Republic of Croatia addressed to the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 19 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, which will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/1994/1319.

The first speaker is the representative of Croatia, on whom I now call.

Mr. Nobilo (Croatia): My delegation is pleased by the important step taken by the Security Council in discussing the draft resolution before it and in appropriately addressing an issue that could have very serious consequences for the region.

The actions by the so-called Krajina Serb forces in Croatia can be tolerated no longer; upon its adoption, the draft resolution should be implemented fully and immediately. My delegation is also pleased by the fact that this draft resolution will further strengthen the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia on a day when we have learned that the self-proclaimed Knin authorities have rejected the mini Contact Group plan for the economic integration of Croatia's occupied territories.

Croatia will continue to play its constructive role in the peace process so long as the international community continues to uphold its commitment to Croatia in full compliance with the relevant Security Council resolutions — but Croatia will not wait for ever.

This draft resolution is but one important commitment, like the commitment related to resolution 769 (1992), which would impose mechanisms to control Croatia's international borders.

The continued violations of Croatia's borders, such as the grave violation of resolution 820 (1993) and of the border-monitoring mission arrangements of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, contribute to the escalation of activities in the Bihac region by providing fuel for the war machine now attacking Bihac. Croatia demands that the illegal transshipment of fuel and goods stop immediately.

In closing, let me once again express my delegation's gratitude for the Council's timely and appropriate action.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on whom I now call.

Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina): First, we are not convinced that the draft resolution before the Security Council was necessary in order to allow for the appropriate response to the recent attacks upon the safe areas in Bihac. From our — by now very disillusioned — perspective, this appears to be another attempt at delay by some, an effort to put off action until some future violation — when some new excuse could be found for inaction.

Frankly, members of the Security Council, it will be very easy to relieve us of our scepticism. Just act as the entire world has expected you to act for two weeks. The basis for action has already been given, and the airports, aircraft, artillery and infantry of the so-called Krajina Serbs continue to violate the Bihac region and to be a threat to the civilian population of that region as well as to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

Nor should we ignore the fact that these violations by the so-called Krajina Serbs are, most directly, also violations of the no-fly zone, of the supposedly demilitarized status of the United Nations Protected Areas in the Republic of Croatia, and of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On this last point, an attack on UNPROFOR, our civilian population, our army, or anywhere within the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina would be, in every instance, a violation of our territorial integrity requiring the necessary response to such aggression as a threat to international peace and security, regardless of whether or not it involved a safe area.

The present draft resolution cannot be interpreted as tolerating cross-border attacks against our Republic by focusing only on violations of — that is attacks upon — the boundaries of a safe area. The international boundaries of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot be given lesser legal priority under the Charter of the United Nations than the boundaries of a safe area.

Secondly, consistent with those legal principles, we must understand that any cross-border attack against any civilian or UNPROFOR target within the Bihac region would be responded to under the draft resolution before the Council. Let me hark back to the language of resolution 824 (1993), in which the Council

> "Declares that the capital city of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, and other such threatened areas, in particular the towns of Tuzla, Zepa, Gorazde, Bihac, as well as Srebrenica, and their surroundings" — I stress "their surroundings" — "should be treated as safe areas ...". (*resolution 824 (1993), para. 3*)

Thus, it is clear that it was the Council's intention to defend civilian centres and their surrounding areas, and not to have resolutions 824 (1993) and 836 (1993) interpreted as demarcating, within Bihac and its surrounding areas, a small part of the city that is protected, while surrounding villages and towns are implicitly made fair game.

We have been informed today by the Secretary-General's representatives that today's plane attack against Cazin would in fact be covered by the current draft resolution. We welcome that view and express our confidence that other United Nations representatives on the ground will not engage in the arbitrary drawing of lines to define the blessed and the damned of the civilian population. The intent of the Security Council is clear here.

Thirdly, we strongly urge that the Council adopt further measures that may be necessary to improve the situation, provide the necessary practical support for UNPROFOR forces already within the Bihac area, and put an end to measures inconsistent with the peace process. To this end, consistent with resolutions 770 (1992), 824 (1993) and 836 (1993), the Council should ensure that measures are followed through to stop the blockage by the so-called Krajina Serbs of humanitarian assistance and of UNPROFOR reinforcements and supplies.

The Council should also foreclose all flows of fuel to the Krajina Serbs from the border of Serbia and Montenegro through the occupied areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia. This is blatantly a violation not only of the Council's own resolution 820 (1993) but also of the peace process. The recent Bihac experience has clearly shown us that the so-called Krajina Serbs are acting as one with the so-called Bosnian Serbs in pursuing the war and rejecting peace. It is estimated that the Serbian forces within the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina need anywhere from

5 to 15 truckloads of fuel per day to pursue their war effort. According to the reports of the Border Monitoring Mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, anywhere from 15 to 20 fuel trucks are in fact being allowed every day across the Serbian and Montenegrin border. This fuel is sufficient for both the so-called Bosnian Serbs and Krajina Serbs to carry out the very military attacks that the Council is seeking to confront with the draft resolution before us.

The President: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 958 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): The air attacks launched by Krajina Serb forces in the Bihac area over the past two days are totally unacceptable. This resolution, which my delegation submitted yesterday following the first such attack, is needed to close a gap revealed by those attacks. It is in line with the approach the Council has received from President Tudjman and the Croatian authorities, for whose cooperation we are most grateful.

The suggestion that this resolution is a delaying device merely discredits and demeans the person who has made that allegation. The resolution is clear and straightforward. It simply extends the provisions of resolution 836 (1993) in relation to the use of air power onto Croatian territory. That resolution provided for the use of air power in support of the United Nations Protection Force's mandate in respect of the safe areas within Bosnia. It made no allowance for what has now happened: an attack on a safe area from outside Bosnia.

The resolution mirrors in every way paragraph 10 of resolution 836 (1993), and the procedures to implement it will similarly mirror those set in place to implement that resolution. It makes possible the extension of the geographical scope of existing procedures for the use of air power. It does not create new ones.

My delegation is pleased that the Council has acted promptly on this resolution. We hope the Krajina Serbs will get the message.

Mr. Ladsous (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation welcomes the adoption of resolution 958 (1994), which extends to Croatian territory the possibility of using air power to enable the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to carry out the mandate entrusted to it in the Council resolutions relating to the safe areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Just as we wish to see an end to the offensive military actions, the acts of provocation and the resulting escalations, so likewise we believe that the attacks on the safe areas must not be allowed to go unanswered. The credibility of the Security Council's decisions and of UNPROFOR's activities is at stake. We must be able to ensure the security of UNPROFOR and the protection of the populations of the safe areas, in accordance with the provisions of the resolutions we have previously adopted.

As everyone knows — and I would like to recall this now — yesterday the UNPROFOR Commander asked for an appropriate response, with the use of air strikes, to the aerial bombardment of Bihac. My Government takes the view that resolutions 836 (1993) and 908 (1994) make it possible to respond favourably to General de Lapresle's request. We regret that none of the options proposed by the UNPROFOR Commander was adopted.

France believes that, in situations that clearly show the existence of aggression against a safe area and that clearly show who is the aggressor and who is the victim, the response called for by UNPROFOR should be put into effect as soon as possible. The resolution that has just been adopted will contribute to this.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Russian delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution that has just been adopted because we hold the position that the order which has been established for the use of air power in Bosnia and Herzegovina and surrounding areas and which has now been extended to the territory of Croatia, with a view to ensuring the protection of the Bihac safe area, fully corresponds to the rules for the use of air power in the other safe areas. It is important that this resolution confirms that the appropriate measures will be taken under the guidance of the Security Council and in close coordination with the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR. In this context, I would also like to stress that the use of air power by United Nations forces, in appropriate cases, should be an impartial one, regardless of who might be the violator. We hope that the adoption of this resolution will be a signal to all the parties and to all those involved in the Bihac area to put an end to the escalation of military confrontation in order to ensure that the cease-fire is attained immediately.

I would also like to stress that my delegation has repeatedly drawn attention to the dangerous development of the situation in the Bihac area. Unfortunately our fears have been confirmed: the aggressive, provocative action by one side has produced a reaction by the other, and because of that the flames of the Bosnian war have been fanned even more. In this connection, it is important that the main principle of the safe areas be fully and consistently implemented; they are intended for the protection of the civilian population and cannot be used for offensive military action or for preparations for such action. The best solution would be the demilitarization of the safe areas.

We consider it especially essential to mention the main lesson to be learned from the tragic events in the Bihac area. It is, beyond any question, that there is no alternative to a political settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are firmly attached to the Contact Group's unanimous opinion on this score, which is set out in the documents they have jointly submitted. Any attempts at military solutions, including provocative or offensive actions, will inevitably turn against those initiating them.

I should like to express the hope that all those to whom this is addressed will draw the appropriate conclusions with regard to their behaviour throughout the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, so that the Security Council will not, in the near future, and as an emergency, have to react to a new escalation of military action in other parts of that country.

Mr. Sersale di Cerisano (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Argentine Republic fully shares the concern that the Council expressed in the presidential statement issued yesterday, which referred to the deterioration in the situation in the Bihac area of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The escalation of hostilities now taking place not only is detrimental to the general situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina but also threatens to cause greater imbalances in the Republic of Croatia. In these critical circumstances, we believe it is essential to work on the basis of unity of action in the Security Council. It is for this reason that, in the face of recent attempts to define the situation in terms of the increasing violence in the Bihac area, the Security Council has once again felt bound to take firm and harsh measures. The Argentine Republic condemns the violation of the international border between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina by military elements whose purpose is to destabilize both countries.

It is particularly serious that air power has been used in the Bihac area, including extremely harmful bombs. This represents a flagrant violation of the resolutions of the Council and of the Charter of the United Nations. The inordinate levels of hostilities in this region make the possibility of a settlement more remote and demonstrate the illusions of certain leaders in seeking to establish ephemeral territorial control by means of force, in violation of international legitimacy. We are thus particularly concerned that Sarajevo is once again being subjected to attacks and deprivation.

Since the beginning of the crisis, the Security Council has tried, through the deployment of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), to provide an impartial framework that would facilitate a solution and alleviate the situation of the civilian population. We therefore firmly condemn the fact that the proponents of war are maintaining their hostile attitude towards UNPROFOR, affecting its functioning and endangering its security. We believe that it is now more than ever vital to permit the fulfilment of the mandate of UNPROFOR, not as an objective in itself but on the understanding that it is an instrument created by our Organization to assist in the settlement of the conflict.

The Argentine Republic supports the resolutions the Security Council is adopting today on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and takes the view that they are of particular importance at the present time.

Circumstances have once again demonstrated the need to carry out an in-depth analysis of the minimum definitions of the safe areas regime. The Secretary-General, in this context, has issued a report (S/1994/555), which contains valuable proposals which we should consider and analyse. Defining the basic rules of interaction *vis-à-vis* such areas would lead to improvements for the populations living there, since they are the primary objective of the creation of the safe areas. Safe areas should remain free of armed attacks and be respected by all parties; hence no activities of a military nature should take place in those areas.

Furthermore, the proposal to demilitarize Sarajevo, under guarantees from this Organization, deserves consideration as a means of providing security for that city in the context of the restoration of peace. At the request of the Government of the Republic of Croatia and in the context of the hostilities, which threaten to escalate the violence to new proportions, the Security Council has felt bound to decide to extend to that country the authorization contained in operative paragraph 10 of resolution 836 (1993) of the Security Council.

In conclusion, to the Serb leaders of Bosnia who are reluctant to accept the agreement presented by the Contact Group we reiterate our appeal that they at last choose the peaceful and diplomatic path of settlement and abandon their attempts to achieve military solutions to the present conflict.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): We remember only too well how difficult it was, back in April this year, in similar circumstances, when the safe area of Gorazde was under attack. At that time, it was not until the tanks were actually in the streets of the city that the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) were galvanized into deterrent action by the use of air power, which had been promised in resolution 836 (1993). We believe that that situation must not be repeated, and we are therefore very pleased that this resolution has been adopted today by consensus.

New Zealand believes that the situation in Bihac represents a major and very dangerous escalation of the conflict. We are seeing air attacks across an international border by planes from the so-called Krajina Serbs. We are seeing attacks by missile across an international border, involving random missile attacks into civilian areas. We believe that this creates a qualitatively different situation on the ground. It is therefore appropriate that today's resolution clarifies resolution 836 (1993) and makes it clear that deterrent action may be taken against the so-called Krajina Serb forces in response to the unacceptable attacks that they have launched. We believe that it applies to attacks in and around the safe area.

We note that the Government of Croatia and the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina have called for this action by the international community. We think that the important thing today — and I want to underline this — is not that this resolution has been adopted, but that action pursuant to it be taken, and be taken quickly.

Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Spain has been following with increasing concern for a number of weeks now the intensified fighting that has been taking place in various parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in particular in the Bihac pocket.

The most striking new occurrence of the last few days has been the open participation of the Krajina Serbs in the conflict taking place in the Bihac pocket, in violation of international borders, and also, as has been noted, the escalation in the use of military means, such as missile attacks and aerial bombardment. All this causes us grave concern, both because of the danger of an extension of the conflict and also because of the negative impact on the prospects for a negotiated settlement to the situations in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

For this reason, my delegation joined the sponsors of the draft resolution that we have just adopted, which has become resolution 958 (1994). In our view, the violation of international borders is unacceptable, as are the open participation of the Krajina Serbs in the Bosnian conflict and the use of certain military means such as napalm and cluster bombs — a use which we strongly condemn.

By the resolution we have just adopted, the Security Council has paved the way for the United Nations to resort to the air power of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to carry out aerial attacks in the territory of Croatia, whenever that becomes necessary in order to defend the personnel of the United Nations Protection Force and to support its mandate in the safe area of Bihac and its vicinity.

As provided in operative paragraph 11 of resolution 836 (1993) of 4 June 1993, the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) have to work in close cooperation to determine the methods to be

followed and the means to be used and to report to the Security Council through the Secretary-General.

The operating schemes already established between NATO and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), based on the double-key system and the criterion of a rapid and proportionate response, should be applied to this new situation as well.

I cannot conclude without expressing our appreciation to the Government of Croatia for the prudence and restraint it has demonstrated in recent days, and also for permitting the over-flight and use of Croatia's air space by NATO aircraft if the Krajina Serbs persist in their attitude.

I should like once again to pay tribute to the men and women of UNPROFOR and, especially today, to the Bangladesh contingent serving in the Bihac area in the particularly difficult conditions prevailing there at the present time.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese)*: The Chinese delegation is deeply concerned and disturbed at the recent aggravation of the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially the bombing and shelling of the Bihac safe area, which has resulted in civilian casualties and endangered the safety of UNPROFOR personnel.

We urge the parties concerned to respect the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to immediately cease fire and hostilities in and around Bihac, in order to prevent a further escalation of the conflict.

The Chinese delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted because it is aimed at protecting the safe area of Bihac and the safety of the civilians therein as well as ensuring UNPROFOR's successful implementation of its mandate.

However, we wish to place on record our reservations concerning the mandatory actions authorized by invoking Chapter VII of the Charter in the resolution. We are of the view that the Security Council should be extremely prudent and cautious regarding the use of air power in Croatia. Air power should be used only for the purpose of self-defence — to protect the safety and security of UNPROFOR personnel and the civilians in the safe area. It should not be abused for any punitive and pre-emptive purposes. Moreover, in the use of air power, strict measures should be taken to avoid harming innocent civilians.

I wish to reiterate here that the Chinese delegation has consistently held that peaceful negotiation and consultation are the only appropriate means through which a lasting solution, acceptable to all parties, can be found on a fair and reasonable basis regarding the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, including Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia.

We therefore once again urge the parties to the conflict to cooperate with the international community and UNPROFOR and settle their dispute by peaceful means.

We also hope that the international community will intensify its diplomatic and political efforts to create a favourable environment in the former Yugoslavia for peaceful negotiations to further the process of a comprehensive political settlement there. It should avoid taking any action that might further aggravate tensions.

Mr. Fujita (Brazil): The escalation of violence in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in and around the safe area of Bihac poses new challenges for the international community as it tries to respond in a prompt and effective way to a complex and dangerously worsening situation.

One week ago the Security Council met to review the latest series of events in Bihac and issued a firm warning to all parties and others concerned to refrain from hostile action and to respect the international border between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This warning was not heeded.

The continuing fighting in Bihac in violation of the city's status as a safe area has now become enmeshed with disrespect for the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Such events further endanger the lives of innocent civilians and carry the risk of spreading the war, constituting a major setback to present international efforts directed at solving the Bosnia crisis by peaceful means. They can only meet with our utmost condemnation.

As we follow these very worrisome developments, however, we must translate our concern into an urgent reactivation of efforts to put an end to the fighting on the basis of the Charter, the relevant Security Council resolutions and the settlement proposed by the Contact Group.

The delegation of Brazil continues to encourage those more closely in touch with the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina to intensify their diplomatic efforts to deal with the prevailing difficult circumstances. We believe that the concerted action by the Contact Group in the past month has helped to create a framework for a negotiated settlement in spite of the obstacles it has encountered. Brazil has been fully supportive of the initiative and we are convinced that the Contact Group's role as mediators remains extremely important.

In the light of the gravity of the situation in the former Yugoslavia, the international community must speak with one voice. The United Nations must continue to work to alleviate the suffering of the civilian population while trying to prevent the conflict from escalating and promoting whatever progress is possible on the diplomatic front.

As to the resolution we have just adopted, the delegation of Brazil would like to place on record that, while we concur with the need for a technical adjustment to resolution 836 (1993) in order to protect the safe area of Bihac, it is a matter of concern to us that the extraordinary recourse to the use of air power is being extended to another country.

We reiterate our reservation on the use of the expression "all necessary measures", which seems to be becoming a standard expression of the Council associated with military force to the detriment of diplomatic efforts.

As to the operative part of the resolution, it is our understanding, as confirmed by its sponsors, that the requirement contained in paragraph 11 of resolution 836 (1993) for the Member States cooperating with UNPROFOR to report to the Council through the Secretary-General applies also to this resolution.

As we deplore this new series of attacks and follow developments closely, the delegation of Brazil reaffirms its readiness to continue working towards consensual efforts to help keep a reign on the overall situation in Bosnia. We call upon all parties and others concerned to promptly reach a negotiated solution, notwithstanding the distressing conditions of the present situation.

Only a solution to the conflict that rests on the logic of peace, and not on the logic of war, can be durable.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): As we are all aware, the situation in the Bihac area, designated by the United Nations as a safe area has become very grave owing to the combined attack of the Croatian Serbs across the border of Bosnia and Herzegovina and with the Bosnian Serb forces.

In its last statement before the Council, my delegation predicted that Serb forces and leadership would resort to outrageous and confrontational behaviour in a bid to throw the Contact Group mediators and the Council into disarray, unable to do firmly what we had announced we could do in such circumstances.

The involvement of Croatian Serbs into Bosnia, a move which certainly tipped the balance in the confrontation between the Bosnian Government forces and the Bosnian Serbs, is bad enough. To accompany such a direct challenge with aircraft, missiles and napalm bombs while at the same time allowing the Bosnian Serbs passage through Croatian territory, is totally unacceptable. The shelling, bombing and firing into the United Nations-declared safe area of Bihac that have been reported are likewise unacceptable. We can only wonder why in this conflagration the timely call for a strong air response against these forces as a show of resolve and determination on the part of the United Nations has not been heeded by UNPROFOR.

The total contempt contained in these actions for the "safe-area" declaration, the no-fly zone resolution and Bosnia's territorial integrity is stunning, even if predictable and expected.

As we know, events are moving and changing at an ever accelerating rate. We will soon lose the ability to restrain any of the players from seeking to benefit or strengthen their positions by acting unilaterally, thus forcing the hand of the United Nations and everyone else. The multi-pronged attack on the Bihac safe area has become yet another litmus test of the will and intentions of the United Nations and the Contact Group. Others will certainly be drawn into the conflict, making prospects for settlement even more remote.

As a first step, a weapons-exclusion zone around the Bihac safe area must be declared and strongly enforced. In addition to being a no-fly zone, this zone must exclude aircraft, missiles, anti-aircraft guns, tanks and all other heavy weapons. The weapons-exclusion zone around Sarajevo must also be enforced. It is an embarrassment to have the presidential building shelled in a so-called "safe area".

Clearly, the Serb intention is to inject further discord into international efforts to bring peace. Their defiance must be firmly dealt with, and they must be made to understand that this behaviour will gain them nothing. The Croatian Serbs must realize as well that their military participation in Bosnia can only lead to their inclusion in enforcement actions.

We therefore welcome the resolution just adopted to extend the provisions of resolution 836 (1993) onto Croatian territory.

Mr. Marker (Pakistan): The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina continues to remain a cause of concern for the international community. This crisis remains unresolved as a result of the rejection by the Bosnian Serbs of the peace plan presented by the five-nation Contact Group.

The continued defiance of Security Council resolutions has further seriously compromised the prospects of peace in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The latest attacks of the Krajina Serbs in the safe area of Bihac have confirmed this intransigence and added an ominous new dimension to this long crisis. This defiant attitude can only carry with it the potential for further escalation of the war and its engulfing the neighbouring countries, thus threatening regional and international peace.

In this connection, my delegation wishes to express its understanding of and appreciation for the initiative taken by the Croatian Government and to express once again its appreciation for the work done by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). We wish to pay particular tribute to the Bangladesh forces which are so effectively carrying out their duties in the most difficult and dangerous circumstances.

Pakistan has been deeply concerned by the blatant attacks by the Krajina Serbs over the last two days, and my delegation voted in favour of resolution 958 (1994) in the full expectation that it would enable UNPROFOR to fulfil its mandate and that the necessary action, through the use of air power, would be immediately effected if the situation so warrants.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the United States.

Let me begin by reminding members of the Council why we must continue to meet on the subject of Bosnia. Last July, a peace plan developed by the Contact Group was endorsed by the Council. Since then the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina has accepted the plan, and so have the Bosnian Croats. Only the Bosnian Serbs have refused. It is the failure of the Bosnian Serbs to sign the peace plan that has caused the fighting in Bosnia to continue and to escalate.

I know there are those who condemn Bosnia for its recent attacks on Bosnian Serb forces in parts of central and western Bosnia. My Government regrets all the continued fighting, but let us not confuse attacks made to recover territory lost to aggression with aggression itself. Let us not confuse the actions of a Government that has declared its desire for peace with that of a faction unyielding in pursuit of war. The Bosnian Government did not start this war, and it is willing to end it. The Bosnian Serbs began this war, and it is they who refuse to sign an agreement to end it.

Now we face a new threshold. In support of Bosnian Serb aggression, the so-called Krajina Serbs are collaborating in an attack on the sovereign territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They are presenting the Government of Croatia with a difficult dilemma. The unification of territory held by the so-called Krajina Serbs with the territory controlled by the Bosnian Serbs could cause the Government of Croatia to intervene and thus spawn a new spiral of war.

The Croatian Government has so far shown commendable restraint, but let no member of the Council doubt this: Krajina Serb collaboration with Bosnian Serb aggression could spark a wider Balkan war. Krajina Serb forces have violated an international border. Their attacks from the air and from the land are jeopardizing civilians in Bihac and also the United Nations troops deployed there. The Council has now clarified that the use of air power is authorized to attack targets in Croatia that threaten safe areas in Bosnia or United Nations troops operating in Bosnia.

Yesterday Krajina Serbs attacked Bosnia, and the United Nations Commander for the Former Yugoslavia, General de Lapresle, raised the issue of a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) response from the air. My Government believes that an immediate, affirmative response would have been legally authorized by previous resolutions of the Council. This morning another attack, launched from the same airfield at Udbina, struck targets in the Bihac pocket. Once again the tragic result was civilian casualties.

Let us be clear: what we are witnessing is a pattern of activity from the Udbina Airfield that places at risk the safe area of Bihac, civilians in the Bihac pocket and United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops deployed there. My Government believes that this pattern of military activity justifies a military response from NATO. Therefore, we welcome this resolution. It makes clearer yet the intention of the Council to prevent bombardments of Bosnia. We would expect that any request for NATO air strikes on Udbina, made today or in the future, would yield a positive response from all concerned.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 2.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3462

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3462nd Meeting

Saturday, 19 November 1994, 2.45 p.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Fujita
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

94-87149 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 2.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Germany in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took places at the Council table; Mr. Graf zu Rantzau (Germany) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/1317, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, Germany, the Russian Federation, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

The first speaker is the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on whom I now call.

Mr. Sacirbey *(Bosnia and Herzegovina):* We understand that the draft resolution before the Security Council is designed to facilitate the efforts of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) under its peace-keeping mandate. We support all such efforts consistent with our territorial integrity and sovereignty and the interests and well-being of all our citizens. I believe that all of us also understand the most critical role of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina with regard to these efforts and in peacemaking.

Until such time as the so-called Bosnian Serbs, their sponsors and their allies accept the Contact Group peace plan, until there is a comprehensive effort at peacemaking, the safe areas concept can be viewed only as a very helpful and appreciated, but, unfortunately, inadequate, tool secondary to our Government's responsibilities and efforts at defence and peacemaking.

We understand that some may attempt to use this draft resolution as a means of undermining our Government's rights and responsibilities in such efforts. We remind them that they must also confront the reality of the United Nations Charter, as well as the reality of the current inadequate efforts at peacemaking in our country.

Some may also — though I hope not — have the cynical expectation that the draft resolution before the Council will be inappropriately usurped not only to revise the definition of safe areas in a manner inconsistent with the United Nations Charter and various Security Council resolutions — in particular, resolutions 824 (1993) and 836 (1993) — but also as a way to nullify any UNPROFOR and/or North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) action to protect the safe areas by, in fact, making the definition of safe areas unattainable and unrealistic. It would be most inappropriate and sad if some argued that the mandated response was not forthcoming because the safe area had once again not met the ever-moving and elusive standards defining what is a safe area.

As for the issue of Sarajevo, we have all along proposed to the Council and all who would listen that we favour the demilitarization of Sarajevo — that is, a demilitarization consistent with the Contact Group peace plan, with the opening up of the city from within and without, and as a united city, and not demilitarization that would impose on Sarajevo the shame of being divided in the same way as Berlin was divided in the post-Second-World-War era.

We remain prepared to move ahead, but we must not delude ourselves into taking a course of action that has as its underlying basis that we shall do only that which is neutral — that is, that which is consistent with the desires of the besieger and the partitioner. This would be to reverse the entire concept of neutrality and peace-keeping — effectively, to serve the purposes of the status quo, the maintenance of the barbaric sieges and inhumane partition.

On the basis of efforts in this regard, in respect of Sarajevo, we are prepared sincerely to evaluate other options for other safe areas that would not undermine our territorial integrity or sovereignty, United Nations Security Council resolutions and the peace process.

One member of the Security Council has suggested that the attacks upon the civilian population of the Bihac area were somehow provoked by defensive actions of the army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina against other military elements invading or carrying out aggression against our country. I am sure that this Council member would not wish to have his statement before the Council today understood as either usurping the current draft resolution in an attempt to abridge our Republic's territorial integrity and sovereignty, in a manner most inconsistent with the United Nations Charter, or as an attempt to mitigate the responsibility for these attacks of those who have targeted civilians with artillery, helicopters, aircraft, ground-to-ground missiles and even napalm and cluster bombs.

Anyway, the blocking of humanitarian supplies to the Bihac area has taken place since May 1994 — well before any so-called provocative actions. I believe that this member's comments would have been more accurate if the denial of this humanitarian assistance and the refusal of the Serbian party to accept the Contact Group peace plan had been defined as provocative acts, now persisting for over two and a half years.

We, the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, cannot shoulder the responsibility of the Contact Group — in particular, some members of the Contact Group — to bring the Serbian side to accept the plan. We continue to do our part to defend our territorial integrity and sovereignty and still maintain, no matter how difficult it may be, our commitment to the Contact Group peace plan.

Finally, I believe it to be most absurd to suggest that any defensive action by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina within its own Republic can in any way justify a cross-border attack, an act of aggression from the United Nations protected areas in a neighbouring country.

The President: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on draft resolution S/1994/1317. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 959 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Ladsous (France) *(interpretation from French):* The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has deteriorated considerably in recent weeks, particularly in the Bihac pocket, but also in other places, notably Sarajevo and its surroundings. Without steps to stabilize the situation in and around the safe areas, there will be a great danger of the emergence of new hotbeds of tension and of further escalations.

As members of the Council know, the Contact Group intends to continue its diplomatic efforts to obtain from all the parties an undertaking to adhere to the territorial settlement plan. The continuation of current hostilities, and possible new military action launched from the safe areas or directed against them, may seriously compromise the efforts now being made to secure the agreement of all the parties concerned on the peace plan.

Although it refers to the specific situation in Bihac or in Sarajevo, the resolution relates to an overall problem that potentially affects all the safe areas. My delegation fully supports the spirit of the text, whose purpose is to specify and strengthen the regime applicable in the safe areas, taking account of the particular circumstances of each of them.

In this connection, we welcome the request to the Secretary-General that he update the recommendations in his report of 9 May with regard to the implementation of the concept of safe areas. We also welcome the fact that the resolution requests the Secretary-General and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to intensify their efforts to reach agreement with the parties

on the demilitarization of Sarajevo, which my Government has been proposing for a long time.

My delegation sincerely hopes that the resolution we have just adopted will effectively help to strengthen the safe areas regime as a whole so as to prevent the spread of hostilities and to make the pursuit of diplomatic efforts possible.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): Last Sunday, 13 November, this Council expressed its concern at the deteriorating situation in and around Bihac. It had occasion to issue a further statement on the same subject yesterday.

Today's news from Sarajevo is not encouraging. Though, overall, the situation there is markedly improved compared to that of a year ago, the position in all the safe areas remains fragile and uncertain. It is right, therefore, that the Security Council should look again at the modalities for implementing the safe areas concept and seek the views and recommendations of the Secretary-General. It is regrettable that it has not been possible for more to be done by way of follow-up to the extremely useful recommendations he has already made in his report of 9 May 1994 (S/1994/555).

The resolution we have just adopted was co-sponsored by the Contact Group, and we are grateful to the delegation of the Russian Federation for its timely initiative in coming forward with the original draft.

My delegation attaches particular importance to the request in this resolution to the Secretary-General and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to intensify their efforts to achieve agreement on modalities for the demilitarization of Sarajevo. If demilitarization could be achieved, it would indeed transform life in that city and enable its citizens to enjoy, for the first time in two years, what we here casually describe as "normalcy". That is a worthy goal, and one that goes to the heart of UNPROFOR's humanitarian mandate. It deserves the support it has received from the Council.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian)*: In the opinion of the delegation of the Russian Federation, the resolution just adopted by the Security Council is an important step in the efforts towards a settlement of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have been saying for a long time that there was a need to strengthen the regime and refine the concept of safe areas. This idea was also clearly reflected in the Geneva communiqué of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Contact Group on 30 July 1994.

Unfortunately, the adoption of this decision was considerably delayed, and the international community was unable to prevent a new twist in the development of the dangerous military confrontation in Bosnia that has occurred in recent days, a confrontation which has led to the deaths of many people and resulted in new flows of refugees and in obstacles to the supply of humanitarian assistance.

Had this resolution been adopted earlier, it is possible that the situation would have been different today. We expect that the Council's resolution will make it possible to avoid similar tragic situations in other safe areas by anticipating them.

We expect that by 1 December next, the Secretary-General, in updating the useful report that was submitted to us last May (S/1994/555), will submit to the Council further recommendations on the modalities of the implementation of the concept of safe areas, taking into account the experience gained by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) over the last year and a half, including the negative experience.

All this experience quite clearly shows that the main purpose of these areas is to protect the civilian population, not to protect the territory let alone the troops of one of the parties to the conflict. The role of UNPROFOR in the protection of the safe areas consists primarily in assisting humanitarian aid operations and also in contributing to a comprehensive peace process by bringing about agreements on a cease-fire and the separation of forces.

It is extremely important that the Bosnian parties should fully respect the status and functions of UNPROFOR, and that they should cooperate with UNPROFOR in its efforts to ensure implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions.

Naturally, the status of the safe areas and the interests of the people there are incompatible, as has repeatedly been pointed out by the Secretary-General, with the use of those areas for military production or for the recuperation, training or equipping of military units, let alone for attempts to launch acts of provocation and offensive actions.

Like other members of the Council, Russia is perturbed by the continuing tension in and around Sarajevo. We expect that the resolution we have adopted will help the efforts of the Secretary-General and of UNPROFOR to reach an agreement with the Bosnian parties on the process of the demilitarization of Sarajevo in the interest of the full and final restoration of peaceful conditions in that long-suffering city.

We would particularly like to stress the provision in the resolution concerning the need for a lasting peace settlement in accordance with the Contact Group peace plan. Many of the participants in this meeting, including the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina who was invited to speak, have spoken in support of this plan.

We are confident that the adoption of this plan, including the map and a just constitutional arrangement, would in itself open the way towards a stable peace in Bosnia.

Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The recent intensification of fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina has particularly affected certain safe areas, specifically Bihac, Sarajevo and Tuzla. We are especially worried about the consequences that this will certainly have for the civilian population, with the inevitable aftermath of innocent victims and an increase in the number of displaced persons.

Protection of the civilian population is, and always has been, our first priority. This is the purpose of the concept of safe areas established by a number of Security Council resolutions. As we have said on earlier occasions, we must strengthen and develop the regime that applies to safe areas, taking into account the criteria stated by the Secretary-General in a number of reports, as well as the particular characteristics of each of the safe areas. In any event, that regime would need to be modified as circumstances warranted. The resolution that we have just adopted, resolution 959 (1994), which my country sponsored together with the countries that make up the Contact Group, responds to these needs.

Under this resolution, the Secretary-General is requested to submit as soon as possible specific proposals designed to clarify the regime relating to safe areas. We hope to receive that report within the deadline established, that is, by 1 December this year. In any event, the parties to the conflict must work together to this end, must cooperate fully with UNPROFOR, must show maximum restraint and put an end to the hostilities in and around the safe areas.

In order to protect the civilian population, the safe areas should not be the object of attacks, nor should they serve as bases for attacks.

It is quite clear that, as was already pointed out in resolution 836 (1993), the concept and the implementation of the concept of safe areas cannot in itself solve the conflict. It is essential that negotiations be pursued in order to arrive at a fair and lasting settlement to the conflict. It is also essential to avoid any measures that could lead the parties to seek a solution through the force of arms. We shall never tire of repeating that there cannot be any military solution to the conflict that would be either feasible or acceptable in the eyes of the international community.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): We voted in favour of this resolution, but my purpose in speaking is to say that we do have some reservations about certain aspects of it. We believe that this resolution would have benefited from further reflection and further negotiation. We recall that it was made available to Council members as a whole only yesterday morning.

Our reservations stem from the fact that we believe that the safe areas have been restrictively interpreted on a number of occasions, contrary to the spirit and intention of resolutions 824 (1993) and 836 (1993). We also have reservations about many of the conclusions of the Secretary-General's reports of 10 March, 16 March and 9 May 1994. We expressed those reservations firmly in informal consultations when they were discussed. In this context, we would have to say that we believe that any updating, as called for in operative paragraph 5 of this resolution, will, we believe, require some radical new thinking rather than simple updating.

We believe that the Contact Group peace plan has significantly changed the underlying parameters against which the concept of safe areas should be reviewed. The Security Council has of course approved and endorsed that plan, and it does so again in the resolution we have adopted today. We believe that any proposals for defining the geographical scope of future demilitarized safe areas, if they are to meet with consensus in this Council, must envisage sufficiently large areas for the population to lead a normal life, and the overall framework for such future demilitarized safe areas should reinforce and certainly not

undermine the areas envisaged in the Contact Group peace plan.

The President: There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 3.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3463

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3463rd Meeting
Monday, 21 November 1994, 5.45 p.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Ms. Wong
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Harthy
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Laclaustra
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

The situation in Angola

94-87167 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 5.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Angola

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Angola, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Van Dunem "Mbinda" (Angola) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1994/1290, which contains the text of a letter dated 14 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council welcomes the signing of the Protocol of Lusaka by representatives of the Government of Angola and UNITA in Lusaka on 20 November 1994. This Protocol together with the Bicesse Accords should lay the foundation for lasting peace in Angola. Having signed the Protocol, Angola's parties must continue to demonstrate their commitment to peace through the full and timely implementation of this detailed peace agreement. Most importantly, the cease-fire required by the Protocol must be respected.

"The Security Council acknowledges the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, which have been so vital in reaching this agreement. The Security Council also commends the role of the observer countries to the Angolan peace process and the constructive interventions by leaders throughout Africa. Finally, the Security Council thanks President Frederick Chiluba and the Government of Zambia, which graciously hosted these negotiations.

"The Security Council notes with concern the reports that the fighting in Angola is continuing. The Council reminds the parties of the responsibility they bear to respect fully the cease-fire agreement which is to go into effect on 22 November 1994. The Security Council looks forward to a report from the Secretary-General that the cease-fire has become effective, thereby allowing the deployment of UNAVEM II military and police observers to reinforce United Nations monitoring capabilities in Angola.

"The Security Council remains seized of this matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/70.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3464

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3464th Meeting

Monday, 21 November 1994, 5.50 p.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Ms. Wong
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Harthy
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Laclaustra
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

The situation in Mozambique

94-87179 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 5.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Mozambique

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Mozambique in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Afonso (Mozambique) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/1323, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/1994/1323) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 960 (1994).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.

United Nations

S/PV.3465

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3465th Meeting

Wednesday, 23 November 1994, 3.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Niaz
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

Central America: efforts towards peace

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (S/1994/1212 and Add.1)

94-87210 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Central America: efforts towards peace

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (S/1994/1212 and Add.1)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of El Salvador in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Castaneda-Cornejo (El Salvador) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador, documents S/1994/1212 and S/1994/1212/Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/1332, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Colombia, Mexico, Spain, Venezuela and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/989 and S/1994/1144, letters dated 11 August 1994 and 6 October 1994 respectively from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the representative of El Salvador, on whom I now call.

Mr. Castaneda Cornejo (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are pleased to extend to you, Madam, our warmest congratulations on your presidency of the Security Council this month. The success of your leadership is guaranteed by your intellectual qualities and well-known diplomatic skills.

At the outset, we wish to express our gratitude for this opportunity to share with members some thoughts and ideas on the peace process in Central America, particularly in El Salvador, and on the valuable participation of the United Nations in the search for such a desirable goal, especially as the Council is about to take one of the final decisions on a mechanism that has been extremely important in the verification of that process. The United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) was created to observe and verify all political agreements between the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN until such time as its mandate expired with the full political, economic, social and institutional democratization of the country.

In making this statement, I hope for the understanding and patience of the members of the Security Council if I take more time than is customary. We believe, however, that this issue has deep historical significance, not only for El Salvador but also for Central America and the United Nations. It must therefore be addressed in its entirety and as the principal participants we must bear witness to it.

In speaking of the future of the peace process in El Salvador, of the consolidation of democracy, and of reconciliation and national development with a human face, we must recall the past and take into account the realities of the present with respect to our resources, capabilities and limitations in fulfilling our goals and objectives at the national, regional and international levels. The political, economic and social crisis in El Salvador is not very different from that of other developing countries when considered in relative proportion, but we must take into account the specific differences that emerge as factors of place and historical moment.

In considering the magnitude of the crisis experienced in El Salvador, we must look at the past. The crisis was not born out of thin air; its origins and evolution were the results of longstanding and profound social, political, economic and cultural imbalances. One negative aspect of our national life was the scarcity of forums and mechanisms for exercising ideological

pluralism and respect for partisan coexistence, which hindered the full development of a democratic system. The prevailing system was economically and politically unable to meet the needs and demands for improved social conditions. Health, education, housing, employment, marginality, extreme poverty, the protection of human rights, the closing of political arenas and other factors were the underlying structural causes which, having gone unmet, gradually became sources of dissatisfaction and instability, leading to a profound political, economic and social crisis which, in the late 1970s, reached the boiling point in Salvadorian society.

To be precise, on 15 October 1979, a *coup d'état* took place which at first was claimed to correct the failings of the past. Instead, we experienced an institutional breakdown and the emergence of a struggle between the forces of change and the maintenance of the status quo by force of arms. Unfortunately, this produced an armed conflict that lasted over 10 years. We must also recognize that, aside from the general violence throughout the country, there began a process that led to a greater understanding of the depth of the crisis and its causes and its effects on Salvadorian society. This opened up opportunities for dialogue and negotiation among the conflicting forces.

From 1979 to 1992, El Salvador suffered a civil armed conflict. Its development was compounded by outside factors that internationalized it and modified its scope and dimensions, given the close relationship between the Central American countries. The crisis must therefore be analysed not only from a national perspective but also in the broader context of the Central American crisis.

At the regional level, the difficult and complex situation between the Central American countries was affected by the eruption of the Sandinista revolution, its close ties to the socialist countries and its attempt to establish in Nicaragua an ideological, political and economic system at variance with those of other Central American societies. It was also affected by the Sandinista movement's support of revolutionary movements in other Central American countries.

Outside the region, the Central American and Salvadorian crisis grew from national and regional roots to become yet another scenario of the cold war, especially once external interests became involved and turned Central America into a prize in the struggle for supremacy between Power blocs at the international level, whose concern was to maintain or expand their respective areas of influence in total disregard for the deepening economic crisis and the sacrifices, suffering and hopes of the Central American nations.

The deterioration of the armed conflict in El Salvador and the increased tensions between our Governments, which in turn exacerbated regional instability, for the first time brought Central America into the international arena. This was of serious concern to the world community, since it could have led to a generalized conflict threatening international peace and security. This situation gave rise to internal and external initiatives and efforts to bring to an end, through dialogue and negotiation, the conflicts in the region.

First steps in the quest for peace were taken by the Governments of Nicaragua and El Salvador between 1980 and 1987, and in 1983 efforts were begun by the Contadora Group, later supplemented by the Support Group. These Groups considered that a firm and lasting peace in the region could be achieved only if the fundamental causes of the conflict were addressed, a perception that was embodied in the initiative known as the draft Contadora Act of 6 June 1986 for Peace and Cooperation in Central America.

Those efforts deserve our recognition. They led to what was to become the basic accord between the Central American Governments in their quest for peace, the "Procedures for the establishment of a firm and lasting peace in Central America", better known as the Esquipulas II Agreements, adopted at Guatemala City on 7 August 1987. In those Agreements the Central American Presidents undertook to assume their responsibilities in the quest for peace and the elimination of war, as recognized in the Final Communiqué of the meeting of Central American Foreign Ministers and the Contadora Group, held on 1 August 1987, in which they reiterated that it was basically up to the Central Americans themselves to search for and arrive at those solutions. They also reiterated the existing commitments to be fulfilled to realize those goals and to initiate a process of national reconciliation and reconstruction as a precondition to promoting democracy and development in an environment of full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, in keeping with the aspirations of the peoples of Central America.

It was agreed that compliance with those commitments would be subject to verification by national and international mechanisms through the individual or

joint participation of the Organization of American States (OAS) and the United Nations.

Esquipulas II gave rise to new expectations for peace. It opened up new political horizons and marked a new stage in relations between Central American States, moving from confrontation to intraregional cooperation, opening the way to the fostering and revitalization of the peace process in Central America and laying down obligations and responsibilities for Governments, in particular in those countries with serious political, military and social conflicts in which deep societal divisions existed and in which declarations and peace propaganda were to be translated into commitments entered into as faithful expressions of the political will to achieve peace, democracy and comprehensive development. In addition, it called for the solidarity and the support of the international community so that Central American and extra-regional Governments with interests in the region would enter into commitments and shoulder responsibilities to respect the principles of self-determination and non-interference, avoid the introduction of external factors that, rather than contributing to peace, promoted confrontation and war, and especially the non-use of the territory to launch attacks on other States and the cessation of support for irregular forces.

Immediate, unconditional and unilateral compliance with the Esquipulas II commitments was again called for by the Central American Presidents in the Joint Declaration issued at Alejuela, Costa Rica, in January 1988. The call was elaborated upon at the Summits of Costa del Sol, El Salvador; Tela, Honduras; and San Isidro Cornado, Costa Rica. At these Summits, held in February, August and December of 1989, respectively, it was agreed, among other things, to call for a more active role for the United Nations and its accelerated participation in the Central American peace process in order to promote the implementation of the commitments entered into.

With these demonstrations of sovereign will and the conviction of the Central American countries that the best way to achieve peace was through the peaceful settlement of disputes, the United Nations entered into a historic phase in Central America by becoming involved and participating in the solution of internal conflicts in sovereign States. Security Council resolution 644 (1989) of 7 November 1989 authorized the setting up of a United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA), with a mandate to verify the cessation of aid to irregular forces and the non-use of the territory of a State to attack another State and to establish verification centres for that purpose in critical sectors of the region. Later the mandate was extended to allow for participation in the demobilization of the Nicaraguan resistance and the monitoring of the cease-fire and the separation of forces in Nicaragua.

In this connection, it is important to emphasize that the establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission to verify the election process in Nicaragua (ONUVEN) in August 1989 meant that for the first time the functions of the United Nations in electoral matters would not be restricted to colonial cases. The same was true of the creation of the International Verification and Follow-up Commission as a joint United Nations-OAS mechanism for the demobilization, repatriation or resettlement of Nicaraguan resistance fighters, an operation that served to strengthen the links between the two Organizations, not only in areas under their mandates, but also with regard to electoral supervision.

It is important to mention these mechanisms, because their creation contributed to reducing tensions between the Central American Governments and to establishing a climate of trust between countries, something which, if followed, would promote conditions fostering peace through deterrence and preventive action.

In El Salvador, in compliance with Esquipulas II and reaffirming the political will to seek peace through political means, dialogue and negotiation, the Government took steps to initiate its implementation of the commitments undertaken. It did so in particular by establishing the National Reconciliation Commission; by proposing a third Government-FDR-FMLN meeting which was then held in San Salvador on 6 October 1987, whose results were limited, but important, since both sides committed themselves to seek peace, achieve dialogue and support the Esquipulas II process; and by creating commissions to seek and prepare agreements to end the armed conflict and democratize the country.

Unfortunately, internal and external conditions from 1987 to 1989 were not the most favourable to progress in the peace process. The polarization of society, increased armed activities and new acts of violence in El Salvador, as well as external support for and solidarity with the irregular forces, all had a negative effect on efforts to find a speedy end to the armed conflict.

It was in this context that the process of dialogue was continued on the coming to power of the Administration of President Alfredo Cristiani, who upon taking office on 1 July 1989 expressed his determination and commitment to end the armed conflict by peaceful

and democratic means, proposing a permanent, continuous and substantive dialogue. The resulting meetings between the Government and the FMLN in Mexico, in September of that year, produced favourable expectations, since agreement was reached on permanent dialogue, with a view to arriving at a solution to the conflict through political means as soon as possible. Unfortunately, however, the process again became bogged down.

Given that situation, at the beginning of 1989, on the initiative of the Government of El Salvador, the United Nations was approached to request the assistance of the Secretary-General to re-initiate the negotiating process in accordance with the agreement on a permanent dialogue. This allowed for the holding of separate consultations with representatives of the FMLN. On this basis, at the request of the Central American Presidents, agreed at the summit of San Isidro Coronado, Costa Rica, in December 1989, and in the framework of the mandate of good offices established in Security Council resolution 637 (1989), the Secretary-General undertook consultations with the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN to establish the format for promotion of the peace process that was formally reflected in the Geneva Agreement of 4 April 1990.

As of that time, the peace process in El Salvador entered a new stage, in which the United Nations would not only be an observer but also a major player and would, thereby, expand its presence and its contribution to the solution of conflicts in Central America in the interests of peace and democracy. This stage, which would develop under the auspices of the Secretary-General, would make the peace process irreversible, as it would test the political will and the credibility of the parties to the conflict — in particular, for having given assurances that they would act responsibly and in good faith to seek peace through negotiations, in compliance with their commitments, and to avoid abandoning the process. But this also meant greater responsibility for the Organization as it entrusted the Secretary-General with a good-offices function and asked him to make maximum efforts to contribute to bringing an end to the armed conflict.

At this point I wish to emphasize that this stage was facilitated internally by the people of El Salvador expressing themselves through the majority of its political forces, which were tired of war, but basically because of the conviction of the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN that the armed struggle would not lead to a solution of the serious and profound national problems but, on the contrary, would make them worse, and, at the international level, because of the end of the cold war and its implications for the Central American region.

The coming to power of a democratic Government in Nicaragua, the break-up of the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc in general, the process of worldwide democratization and the international community's constant support of peace were factors in making the negotiation process viable.

Beginning in April 1990 and up to 31 December 1991, there were hard, complex and gradual negotiations. These culminated in the First Act of New York, which formally put an end to the armed conflict — a conflict that had been a tragedy for the people of El Salvador causing untold suffering and innumerable sacrifices and resulting in the loss of more than 75,000 human lives and the creation of more than 1 million refugees and displaced persons, as well as material destruction.

The complexity of the crisis in El Salvador — which necessitated not only putting an end to the armed conflict but also agreeing on the changes that were necessary to the promotion of democratization in the country for the purpose of guaranteeing unconditional respect for human rights and re-uniting Salvadorian society — entailed maximum efforts on the part of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to encourage parties to modify their positions, and to overcome contradictions and the critical factors that endangered the process, with a view to achieving and formalizing agreements in accordance with the timetable of the negotiating process that was adopted in Caracas, Venezuela, on 21 May 1990.

The outcome of the negotiations, contained in various agreements — San José, July 1990; Mexico, April 1991; New York, September and December 1991 and January 1992; and Chapultepec, January 1992 — in addition to ending the war and demobilizing the insurgency, provided a broader, multidisciplinary framework which included provisions concerning respect and guarantees for human rights, constitutional reforms in respect of the armed forces, the judicial, electoral and human-rights systems, the establishment of the Commission on the Truth to investigate serious acts of violence committed since 1980, the creation of a national mechanism to verify the agreements — National Commission for the Consolidation of Peace — a process of cleansing the armed forces based on the investigation of all its members by an ad hoc commission, the reduction and overcoming of impunity, the abolition of security groups, the doctrine and education system of the

armed forces, the establishment of a new national civil police force, the outlawing of illegal groups, the political and institutional participation of the FMLN and measures leading to a new, more just and equitable economic and social order.

The implementation of this set of agreements, especially after the signing for peace in Chapultepec, have been the pillars on which rest the aspirations of the people of El Salvador to overcome economic and social imbalances that have prevailed throughout its history and to achieve transparency in the political process and reconciliation among its people, leading to permanent social peace.

Pursuant to a sovereign decision of the Government of El Salvador and the political will of the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), the participation of the United Nations was not limited to contributing to the success of the negotiating process and concluding partial agreements, such as the set of political commitments enunciated in the agreement of Chapultepec. The obligations and responsibilities of the United Nations also included the delicate function of international verification on the ground that the commitments entered into by the parties following the end of the armed conflict were being complied with. These commitments had been laid down not only in the Esquipulas II Agreements but also in the Agreements of Geneva, Caracas and San José on human rights.

At the request of the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN, and following the dispatch of a preliminary mission to El Salvador and a favourable report from the Secretary-General, the Security Council decided, prior to the cessation of hostilities, to create a comprehensive mechanism to monitor compliance with the Agreements that gradually resulted from the negotiations. To that end, under Security Council resolution 693 (1991) of 20 May 1991, the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) was established, initially with a mandate limited to active verification of compliance with the Agreement on respecting and guaranteeing human rights. Later — on 14 January 1992 — the mandate was expanded by resolution 729 (1992), which established the Division of Military Observers who would verify the cessation of the armed conflict and specific agreements relative to the armed forces, and the Division of Police Observers, which would cooperate in the field of law and order.

Consequently, between 26 July 1990 and the present, ONUSAL has performed an extraordinary and praiseworthy role. The general opinion is that it has been one of the most successful peace-keeping operations ever developed by the United Nations.

In this regard, we share the views of the Secretary-General that are contained in his latest report (S/1994/1212), dated 31 October 1994, on the subject of verification of compliance with the Agreements in El Salvador. I quote:

> "The Organization played a central role in the negotiation of the peace accords from start to finish and has overseen a multidimensional peace-keeping and peace-building operation in whose design it played a key part. It remains engaged in the transition from peace-keeping to post-conflict peace-building." *(S/1994/1212, para. 28)*

> "The Salvadorian peace process holds the promise of being a remarkably successful achievement once it is completed. However, certain key undertakings have yet to be implemented, although it is expected that this can be done within a reasonable period of time." *(ibid., para. 29)*.

In fact, the peace process in El Salvador is continuing to develop successfully, but it has not yet been completed. The recent free and democratic elections held in March and April this year are a significant step forward, but the full success of this process will be attained only when the outstanding agreements have been fully implemented. The full and total compliance with those agreements, and the promotion of a culture of peace in El Salvador are firm commitments that have been repeated by President Armando Calderón Sol.

We deeply appreciate the efforts made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and by his predecessor, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, as well as by their Special Representatives; the efforts made by the friendly countries that have consistently supported the process: Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Spain and the United States; the constant attention that the members of the Security Council have given and continue to give to developments in El Salvador by adopting measures to promote the peace process; the assistance of the organizations of the United Nations system, in particular the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Children's Fund and the specialized agencies; and, in general, the support of the international

community, which has demonstrated its solidarity with the aspirations of the people of El Salvador. To all of them, we reiterate our gratitude and appreciation for their contribution to the successes and progress we have achieved so far. At the same time, we would like to state that we remain confident that we will continue to enjoy the generous cooperation and solidarity of the international community, which are still necessary, indeed essential, to our efforts to make the transition from peace-keeping to post-conflict peace-building in El Salvador.

The President: I thank the representative of El Salvador for the kind words he addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish):* On 16 January 1992, the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) subscribed to the Peace Accords of Chapultepec, putting an end to a decade of civil war, which had torn the country asunder at a high cost in human lives and material damage, as the representative of El Salvador, Mr. Castaneda, has just reminded us.

Six months previously, on 20 May 1991, the Security Council had decided to establish a United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) to verify all the agreements concluded between the parties within the framework of the peace process which had begun under the auspices of the United Nations. At that time, ONUSAL's initial mandate included verification of compliance with the San José agreements on human rights, the only one that had been concluded at that date. Later, on 14 January 1992, two days before the signing of the Chapultepec Accords, the Council decided to expand the mandate of ONUSAL to include verification of the Accords, which were to be signed in Mexico City.

During the more than three years that ONUSAL has been present in El Salvador, that country has largely overcome the political and social antagonisms that had led to the armed conflict. Last spring, under the supervision of ONUSAL and many international observers, elections were held which this Council determined to be appropriate in terms of their freedom and security. Those elections confirmed the participation of the FMLN in the democratic peace process, and opened up institutions to all the people of El Salvador.

We should therefore consider that ONUSAL's mission has been a considerable success for the international community as a whole, and specifically for the United Nations. But above all, it represents the success of the people of El Salvador. I wish to pay tribute here to all those who made these results possible, in particular President Cristiani, the leadership of the FMLN, the leaders of other political and social forces, as well as the successive Secretaries-General of the United Nations, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar and Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and their Special Representatives in El Salvador, Mr. Riza, Mr. Ramírez Ocampo and Mr. ter Horst, as well as all the members of ONUSAL.

The positive notes that have emerged from this process cannot prevent us from alluding to problems and delays that occurred and that still exist in the implementation of the Peace Accords. We continue to be concerned in particular about some outstanding matters relating to public security, the land programmes, the programmes for the reintegration of combatants, the full implementation of the recommendations of the Commission on the Truth, and those concerning the judiciary and electoral reform, as explained by the Secretary-General in his report of 31 October last (S/1994/1212).

Another factor which is of especial concern to my delegation is the persistent recourse to violence for political or other ends and, in particular, the activity of illegal armed groups. In this regard, we consider it extremely important that the Salvadorian institutions should take into account the observations and recommendations of the Joint Group for the Investigation of Politically Motivated Illegal Armed Groups contained in the report of 28 July 1994. In this regard, I wish to highlight the assistance given by several Governments, including the Government of Spain, to the investigations and activities undertaken by the Joint Group.

However, as a whole we must emphasize that significant grounds for hope can be found in the attitude of the Administration of El Salvador, with President Calderón Sol at its head, as well as on the part of the FMLN and the great majority of the social and political sectors in El Salvador.

I would recall in this respect President Calderón Sol's continued commitment to the Peace Accords and the joint declaration of the Government and the FMLN of 4 October last confirming the commitment entered into by both parties to the Accords, and requesting the continued presence of the United Nations for their verification.

There are positive signs that those problems will be overcome, although some of them, such as those dealing with the programmes for reintegration or reform of the judicial system, may not be fully completed in the next few months.

We believe, together with the Secretary-General, that we must maintain ONUSAL until 30 April 1995, albeit with a considerable reduction of its strength, a reduction which should not impede the effective fulfilment of its responsibilities. By that date we hope that the critical issue of the full deployment of the National Civil Police will have been resolved, as will the parallel demobilization of the former National Police.

In this manner, the main nucleus of the verification activities of ONUSAL could be considered completed. There are other components of the Peace Accords, some of which are very sensitive, in particular the programmes for the reintegration of former combatants and the recommendations of the Commission on the Truth, which are also critical for the consolidation of peace in El Salvador, though their full implementation may require a longer period of time.

In this respect, we join in the view expressed by the Secretary-General that it is essential that the United Nations fulfil its commitment to the people of El Salvador to verify full compliance with the Peace Accords. The coming end of ONUSAL should in no way signify the end of the efforts by the United Nations in El Salvador nor its turning its back on those commitments, and we have just heard that that is also the view held by the Government of El Salvador, expressed here through its authorized representative at the United Nations.

In this regard, the draft resolution submitted by the countries that form the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General on El Salvador together with the United States reflects the renewal of ONUSAL's mandate for a final period, until 30 April 1995. It also reflects the Secretary-General's intention to consider ways in which the United Nations may fulfil its commitment to verify the Peace Accords that will extend beyond ONUSAL, in other words, in the period following its withdrawal.

The submission of the next report of the Secretary-General by 31 March next year should, *inter alia*, contain his analysis of the ways and means by which the United Nations will continue its verification activities on the Peace Accords. At that time, we will give due attention to the circumstances of the Salvadorian situation and to the appropriate means of retaining a United Nations presence in El Salvador after the withdrawal of ONUSAL.

Spain has lent its full support to the peace process in El Salvador since its inception. We have participated in the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General to facilitate negotiations and a political rapprochement among the parties, and we have also contributed police, military and civilian personnel to ONUSAL, which has always been quantitatively and qualitatively important. All of this shows Spain's commitment to the Salvadorian peace process. This commitment predated the establishment of ONUSAL, and all Salvadorians may rest assured that it will continue beyond the duration of its mandate.

The President: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1332.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 961 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive reports on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) and on the Joint Group for the Investigation of Politically Motivated Illegal Armed Groups. We also thank him for all his efforts and for those of all United Nations men and women to date in respect of the peace process in El Salvador.

The report on the Mission contains details on the fulfilment of its mandate, the proposal for its gradual withdrawal and on the means for continuing to assist El Salvador after ONUSAL is dismantled. In general, we agree with the Secretary-General's observations as well as with his concrete proposal contained in the resolution we have just adopted.

My country has continued, through ONUSAL, to participate in and follow closely developments in the Salvadorian peace process. At this time, we cannot but be concerned at the delays with respect to some commitments which had been envisaged in the timetable of pending agreements. The delay in the deployment of the National Civil Police, the land-transfer programmes, the reintegration of ex-combatants and the full and unequivocal implementation of the recommendations of the Commission on the Truth — all of these are areas in which progress must still be made in order for the peace process fully to be consolidated. While we should make it clear that the causes of certain delays in the outstanding commitments are not directly attributable to the parties, we must reaffirm the need to observe the Peace Accords in the light of the commitments that emerge from the avowed political will of the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN).

We have also received and studied carefully the report of the Joint Group for the Investigation of Politically Motivated Illegal Armed Groups. It is essential to note with respect to that report the importance of the recommendation to provide the National Civil Police with all human and material resources necessary to carry out the work of criminal investigation in order to assure the people of El Salvador that organized crime and political violence will be eradicated, regardless of the degree of relationship between these two scourges. In this context, the commitments envisaged with respect to judicial reform acquire due relevance and are fully justified. For my delegation, they are truly priority areas.

Finally, we wish to emphasize the importance of strengthening the efforts of the State in respect of the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms through strict control of the responsible institutions, in keeping with the recommendations of the Commission on the Truth.

The last renewal of ONUSAL's mandate does not mean that the United Nations intends to turn its back on the peace process in El Salvador. This commitment, together with the continued support of the Organization, to the sister republic of El Salvador stands, irrespective of the direct involvement of this body. The fact that the peace process, which we can term successful, has attained the degree of maturity needed to obviate the need for the direct attention of the Security Council, is from any standpoint a healthy sign. The resolution we have adopted, however, provides for mechanisms to address the future of cooperation and assistance by the Organization prior to the end of ONUSAL's mandate.

The peace process in El Salvador has evolved in a positive manner for the people of El Salvador. We trust that the continuation of the efforts deployed will lead to a successful conclusion of this stage as well.

Mr. Valle (Brazil): The Brazilian Government has consistently and closely followed the course of events in the sister nation of El Salvador. We have noted with satisfaction that both the Government and the FMLN have endeavoured to contribute to strengthening dialogue by putting aside specific demands that could undermine the peace process as a whole. The United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), to which Brazil has contributed military and police observers, has been instrumental in achieving progress in the consolidation of peace. We thus consider that it is essential for the United Nations to reaffirm its support for the peace process in El Salvador and its pledge to contribute to its success.

In this regard, we wish to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, to his Special Representative, Mr. Ter Horst, and to the personnel of ONUSAL for their tireless efforts for peace and national reconciliation in El Salvador.

The latest report submitted by the Secretary-General on ONUSAL rightly focused on the necessity fully to implement the Peace Accords. Some pending issues, such as the full deployment of the National Civil Police and the phasing out of the old national police, are particularly disquieting. We should recall that public security policy is one of the critical elements and mainstays of the Peace Accords. In addition, we should keep in mind the need to advance the land transfer and reintegration processes.

If the delay and the difficulties experienced in the implementation of the Peace Accords are recognized as a source of concern, we should at the same time not lose sight of the fact that the lack of adequate organization and financial support has delayed compliance with those accords.

As the Secretary-General points out in his report,

> "The Salvadorian peace process holds the promise of being a remarkably successful achievement once it is completed." (*S/1994/1212, para. 29*)

Indeed, much has been accomplished. At this final hour it would be disturbing if the United Nations were to step aside from the process. Hence, we strongly supported resolution 961 (1994), adopted just now, especially because it extends the current mandate of ONUSAL until 30 April 1995. In any case, even after the completion of ONUSAL's mandate, we should not contemplate the termination of all activities of the United Nations in El Salvador. Further assistance, especially in El Salvador's efforts towards development, is clearly required.

Brazil believes that the peace process which has developed in El Salvador should be seen as an example of the meaningful contribution that the United Nations can make to a people's efforts to solve problems that could affect the security of a region or subregion. The feisty and hard-working people of El Salvador deserve nothing less.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The experience of the Salvadorian peace process shows that the good faith of the parties concerned in reconciliation and their political will to seek lasting peace are the keys to the settlement of conflicts. In this regard, the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) have set a good example. They have pledged time and again to fully implement the Peace Accords and issued a joint declaration for this purpose on 4 October this year. This has laid the political foundation for El Salvador's quest for a lasting peace, for which we wish to express our appreciation.

Stability is a fundamental condition for a country's development. Peace, stability and development are the common aspirations of people all over the world. It is on the basis of this fundamental position that we have been firmly supporting the Salvadorian people in their unremitting efforts to free themselves from the scourge of war and rebuild peace, as well as supporting the United Nations, particularly the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), in its continued efforts to verify, at the request of both parties in El Salvador, the implementation of the Peace Accords, thus making their due contributions to the Salvadorian peace process. It is also on the basis of this fundamental position that the Chinese delegation voted in favour of the Security Council resolution just adopted to extend the mandate of ONUSAL.

As a Chinese saying goes, "The future is bright, but the road is tortuous." There still exist some disturbing problems in implementing the Peace Accords, especially the failure to implement in time the programmes regarding land transfer and the reintegration of ex-combatants into society. As the Secretary-General has pointed out, these programmes and the reintegration are essential to the consolidation of the peace process. Failure or further delay in their implementation will most probably trigger serious chaos and destroy all that has been achieved in the peace process. We therefore call on both parties in El Salvador to translate political will into actions and enter immediately into negotiations for concrete solutions. The international community and United Nations agencies, on their part, should fulfil the commitments they have made in helping the Salvadorian people overcome their difficulties so as to ensure the successful completion of the peace process.

Mr. Ladsous (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation was pleased to vote in favour of this resolution, which has extended the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) for one final period until 30 April 1995. That operation, which has in many respects been a model one, must soon come to an end, its mandate accomplished. We have reason to hail this success of our Organization. Democratic elections have taken place and the country has now embarked on the road of restoring democracy and reconstruction.

Still, the Council's satisfaction cannot be complete, because there have been delays in implementing various programmes and because violence has persisted. In this respect the report of the Joint Group for Investigation of Politically Motivated Illegal Armed Groups in El Salvador causes us particular concern.

Five months remain to achieve all the United Nations objectives. This must be done within the established time-frame. We therefore call upon the parties to cooperate with ONUSAL and to respect the commitments undertaken in conformity with the Peace Accords and the recommendations of the Commission on the Truth. The implementation of the land-transfer programme, the establishment of the new National Civil Police, and judicial reform are key elements for the proper functioning of the institutions of, and the establishment of a lasting peace in, El Salvador.

Logistically, this operation must be completed under good conditions as well. Consequently, we consider it indispensable for matters relating to the modalities of ONUSAL's withdrawal, such as the disposition of equipment, to be resolved in due course. My delegation would like to have timely information from the Secretariat in this respect.

Naturally, the end of ONUSAL's mandate on 30 April does not mean that the United Nations will no longer take an interest in El Salvador. Rather, we will enter a new phase, one of consolidating peace, during which it will be up to the United Nations specialized agencies to assist in the recovery of the country and particularly in the strengthening of its institutions. We therefore await with interest the suggestions of the Secretary-General for this new period.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the United States.

The peace process in El Salvador has shown the United Nations at its best: a dynamic negotiator, innovative organizer and effective peace-keeper. It is a testament to the work of the men and women of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) that today the Council has adopted a resolution which in five months puts ONUSAL out of a job. We all know how difficult and rare it is to celebrate the fulfilment of the mandate of a peace-keeping mission. We congratulate the United Nations on a job well begun and soon to be well done.

Although the Council calls for ONUSAL to finish its work in the near future, it is imperative that outstanding elements of the Peace Accords be implemented as promptly as possible, within the timetable agreed on in May of this year. It is still a matter of concern to my Government that important elements of the Peace Accords remain to be implemented, especially in the areas of public security and the recommendations of the Commission on the Truth. The next five months are important to consolidate the progress made to date and to move further to implement outstanding elements of the Peace Accords. We urge all parties to act on the Council's call to redouble efforts to see all aspects of the Peace Accords implemented before the end of March 1995.

The Council recognizes that El Salvador has moved far enough down the road to peace and reconciliation to continue without the presence of a United Nations peace-keeping operation. The conflict is over. The problems which lay at the root of that conflict are being addressed in the proper political forums.

However, this does not mean that the international community is abandoning its responsibilities to ensure full implementation of all elements of the Peace Accords. On the contrary, the commitment of the international community, and of my Government, to the consolidation of peace and democracy in El Salvador remains strong. We simply acknowledge that in El Salvador we have reached a new phase.

Today's resolution makes clear that this final extension will be sufficient to complete the peace-keeping mandate in El Salvador, that the personnel staffing ONUSAL will be withdrawn by the end of this five-month period and that such assistance as may be appropriate after ONUSAL ends on 30 April 1995 will be developed through consultations among the appropriate technical agencies and the Member States.

It is time to consider what comes after peace-keeping. In that regard, we welcome the intent of the Secretary-General, as conveyed in his report of 31 October, to consider the proper mechanisms by which the United Nations will comply with its obligation to verify full implementation of the Peace Accords.

In closing, let me warmly congratulate the people of El Salvador, who have persevered, sometimes at great risk, to bring about real change in their society. We are confident that El Salvador faces a bright future and believe credit must go to the leadership and people of El Salvador for making democratization and reconciliation a reality in their country. We encourage them to continue to work for reform in the months ahead. Peace in El Salvador came because a nation tired of fighting wanted to work together; peace in El Salvador will continue as long as the commitment to forging a common future in a free and democratic system prevails.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3466

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3466th Meeting
Saturday, 26 November 1994, 8.45 p.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Khan
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Letter dated 25 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1342)

94-87222 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 8.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Letter dated 25 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1994/1342)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Mr. Drobnjak (Croatia) took places at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in response to the request contained in a letter dated 25 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, document S/1994/1342.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/1319, S/1994/1325, S/1994/1328 and S/1994/1343, letters dated 19, 21, 22 and 25 November 1994, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/1327, letter dated 22 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/1329, letter dated 22 November 1994 from the *Chargé d'affaires ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1994/1345, letter dated 25 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of three letters dated 26 November 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, which will be issued as documents of the Security Council under the symbols S/1994/1346, S/1994/1347 and S/1994/1348, respectively.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council reiterates its deep concern over the deteriorating situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly the Bihac region, and especially in the safe area of Bihac. It condemns in the strongest possible terms all the violations of the safe area of Bihac by whomsoever committed, and in particular, the flagrant and blatant entry into the safe area by the Bosnian Serb forces. It also notes with concern the hostilities around Velika Kladusa. It demands that all parties and others concerned agree to and implement an immediate and unconditional cease-fire in the Bihac region, and in particular in and around the safe area of Bihac. It calls on all parties to intensify negotiations for a cease-fire and a cessation of hostilities throughout the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in pursuit of the territorial settlement for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina proposed by the Contact Group as part of an overall peace settlement.

"The Security Council expresses its full support for the continued efforts by United Nations personnel to achieve a cease-fire in the Bihac area, as well as for UNPROFOR's efforts to implement its mandate to deter attacks against the safe areas. The Council insists on the withdrawal of all Bosnian Serb military forces from the Bihac safe area and on the need to ensure full respect by all parties of the safe areas, particularly for the benefit of the civilian population. The Council calls on all parties and others concerned fully to cooperate with these efforts. The Council underlines the terms of

resolution 836 (1993), which enable UNPROFOR to carry out its mandate in relation to safe areas.

"The Security Council commends UNPROFOR, including those of its personnel serving in the Bihac region, and in particular the Bangladeshi troops, for the important contributions they are making under the most difficult conditions. It calls on the parties and all others concerned to ensure freedom of movement for UNPROFOR and UNHCR personnel and access to necessary supplies for UNPROFOR and the civilian population throughout the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia.

"The Security Council condemns violations of the international border between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the so-called Krajina Serb forces and others concerned in the Bihac region. It demands that all hostile acts across that international border cease immediately and also demands that all so-called Krajina Serb forces withdraw immediately from the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"The Security Council reiterates its full support for the proposed territorial settlement for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina which has been put by the Contact Group to the parties as part of an overall peace settlement. The Council reiterates its condemnation of the Bosnian Serb party's refusal to accept the proposed territorial settlement and demands that that party accept it unconditionally and in full.

"The Security Council will monitor compliance with the terms of this statement and react appropriately."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/71.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 8.55 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3467

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3467th Meeting

Tuesday, 29 November 1994, 11.15 a.m.

New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Amri
	Pakistan	Mr. Khan
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Laclaustra
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (S/1994/1311)

94-87246 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.35 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (S/1994/1311)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, document S/1994/1311.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/1334, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 962 (1994).

In connection with the resolution just adopted on the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force, I have been authorized to make the following complementary statement on behalf of the Security Council:

"As is known, the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (S/1994/1311) states, in paragraph 17:

"'Despite the present quiet in the Israel-Syria sector, the situation in the Middle East continues to be potentially dangerous and is likely to remain so, unless and until a comprehensive settlement covering all aspects of the Middle East problem can be reached.'

"That statement of the Secretary-General reflects the view of the Security Council."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/72.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.40 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3468

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3468th Meeting
Tuesday, 29 November 1994, 11.40 a.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Amri
	Pakistan	Mr. Khan
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Laclaustra
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

Admission of new Members

Letter dated 14 November 1994 from the Minister of State of the Republic of Palau addressed to the Secretary-General (S/1994/1315)

94-87252 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Admission of new Members

Letter dated 14 November 1994 from the Minister of State of the Republic of Palau addressed to the Secretary-General (S/1994/1315)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

In a letter dated 14 November 1994 addressed to the Secretary-General the Minister of State of the Republic of Palau submitted the application of his country for membership in the United Nations. That letter has been circulated in document S/1994/1315.

Under the provisions of rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, unless the Council decides otherwise, an application for membership shall be referred by the President of the Council to the Committee on the Admission of New Members. Accordingly, unless I hear a proposal to the contrary, I shall refer the application of the Republic of Palau to the Committee on the Admission of New Members for examination and report.

As I hear no objection, it is so decided.

I would propose that the Committee on the Admission of New Members meet immediately following the adjournment of this meeting, in Conference Room 7, to consider the application of the Republic of Palau for membership in the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 11.45 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3469

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3469th Meeting
Tuesday, 29 November 1994, 3 p.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Fujita
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay

Agenda

Admission of new Members

Report of the Committee on Admission of New Members concerning the application of the Republic of Palau for admission to membership in the United Nations (S/1994/1356)

94-87258 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Admission of new members

Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the Republic of Palau for admission to membership in the United Nations (S/1994/1356)

The President: Under the item on its agenda, the Security Council will now begin its consideration of the report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the Republic of Palau for admission to membership in the United Nations, which appears in document S/1994/1356.

In paragraph 3 of the report the Committee recommends to the Council that it should have recourse to the provision of the last paragraph of rule 60 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure in order to present its recommendation to the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the Council wishes to waive the time limits set forth in the penultimate paragraph of rule 60.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

In paragraph 4 of the report the Committee recommends to the Security Council the adoption of a draft resolution on the application of the Republic of Palau for admission to membership in the United Nations. I should like to congratulate the Committee on its unanimous decision to recommend that the Republic of Palau be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

In accordance with the understanding reached in prior consultations among members of the Council, I propose that the Council adopt the draft resolution contained in paragraph 4 of the report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members without a vote.

As I see no objection, it is so decided.

I therefore declare that the draft resolution contained in paragraph 4 of the report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members (S/1994/1356) has been adopted without a vote as resolution 963 (1994).

I shall immediately convey the decision of the Security Council recommending the admission of the Republic of Palau to membership in the United Nations to the Secretary-General for transmittal to the General Assembly in accordance with rule 60 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

I shall now make a statement, in my capacity as President of the Security Council, on behalf of the members of the Council:

> "In my capacity as President of the Security Council and on behalf of the members of the Council, I would like to underscore the historic importance of the resolution we have just adopted recommending the admission of the Republic of Palau to membership in the United Nations.
>
> "This resolution marks the culmination of an effort sustained over decades to bring self-determination to the Trust Territories in different corners of the world. That successful effort has enabled the peoples of the Trust Territories to take charge of their destiny and assume the place to which they are entitled in the community of nations.
>
> "This resolution also serves to remind us of the importance to the United Nations of the principle of universality under which all States — large and small — contribute to our common goal of a peaceful and prosperous international community of nations.
>
> "As a Member of the United Nations, the Republic of Palau will help put that principle into practice and make its own important contribution to achieving the goals of our Organization.
>
> "On behalf of the members of the Security Council, I congratulate the Republic of Palau on the decision which the Council has adopted, recommending to the General Assembly its admission to membership in the United Nations."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1994/73.

The Council has thus concluded its consideration of the matter before it.

The meeting rose at 3.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3470

Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3470th Meeting
Tuesday, 29 November 1994, 5.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

94-87270 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 6.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Canada, Haiti and Venezuela in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Karsgaard (Canada) and Mr. Tejera Paris (Venezuela) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the question concerning Haiti, document S/1994/1180, and the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of resolution 940 (1994), document S/1994/1322.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/1354, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Canada, France, the United States of America and Venezuela.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following revision to be made to the text of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1354 in its provisional form. Operative paragraph 3 should read as follows:

> "*Pays tribute* to President Jean-Bertrand Aristide for his efforts to promote national reconciliation;".

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1994/1107, S/1994/1148, S/1994/1208, S/1994/1258 and S/1994/1321, letters dated 27 September, 10 and 24 October and 7 and 21 November 1994, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the reports of the Multinational Force in Haiti.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it, as orally revised in its provisional form. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): The restoration of constitutional rule in Haiti constituted the achievement of a long-awaited goal of the international community. Brazil has joined in the celebration of the courageous Haitian people, while rejecting the de facto authorities, in hailing the return to power of the legitimately elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. We have thus strongly welcomed the positive evolution of the political situation in Haiti, in particular the efforts undertaken by President Aristide to promote a process of national reconciliation through dialogue involving all sectors of Haitian society.

The Security Council has been seized of the question concerning Haiti since the adoption of resolution 841 (1993) and has been called upon to take actions commensurate with the complexity and uniqueness of the circumstances prevailing therein. In the course of the many deliberations held in the Council, Brazil has always advocated the position that, in all cases, diplomatic and other political resources should be exhausted before coercive measures are adopted. In particular, my delegation has more than once expressed its reservations on actions not undertaken under the direct control of the United Nations.

Since the Security Council considered the options available to establish an expanded force of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), Brazil has upheld the view that a United Nations presence in Haiti would warrant a strengthening of UNMIH in order fully to implement the mandate emanating from resolution 867 (1993), in accordance with established principles and

practices of United Nations operations. As a result, the objective of expanding the Advance Team of UNMIH would seem to be a justifiable development in the light of the situation in Haiti.

While concurring with the objective of advancing the process of future deployment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) as soon as the security situation in Haiti permits, my delegation expresses concern at the terms under which this measure is being taken by the Council.

While we could have supported an objective, procedural resolution expanding the advance team of UNMIH, without entering into considerations of a political nature, the draft resolution before us still contains elements over which my delegation has expressed reservations on all prior occasions. Since we cannot allow for a retroactive endorsement of provisions authorizing recourse to all necessary means in our region, our concerns remain unchanged. Therefore, Brazil will abstain in the vote.

With the restoration of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power, the international community should now assist the Government of Haiti in the challenging tasks of the socio-economic rehabilitation of a country devastated by a military junta, which had no commitment to the well-being of the Haitian people. Brazil stands ready to participate actively in these efforts.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Russian delegation is also interested in a swift stabilization of the situation in Haiti as the country shifts into a normal way of life. At the same time, we continue to have serious doubts as to the advisability and timeliness of the adoption of this draft resolution authorizing a significant increase in the numbers of the advance team of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH).

As we have had occasion to state on many occasions in the course of earlier consultations of the Security Council, the adoption of this draft resolution could mean that there is a kind of creeping, de facto transition from the Multinational Force in Haiti (MNF) mission towards a United Nations stage of the operation when the requirements laid down in Security Council resolution 940 (1994) have basically not been met or implemented and when the Security Council has not yet taken the appropriate decision.

This was confirmed in the oral report to the Security Council by the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, Ambassador Brahimi, who clearly stated that what is involved is an increase in the operation from 60 to 6,000 persons. We see a direct contradiction here with the assurances given by the sponsors of resolution 940 (1994) on its adoption that there would be no automatic shift from an MNF operation to a United Nations operation.

Resolution 940 (1994) sets forth the maximum numbers for the advance team and clearly describes what its mandate is. There is an assessment of the requirements and preparations for the deployment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti following the conclusion of the MNF mission.

As paragraph 11 of the Secretary-General's report (S/1994/1322) notes, the advance team is carrying out the tasks entrusted to it, having successfully assessed the requirements for equipment and personnel for the United Nations mission. Unfortunately, we have not yet been able to see the report on this question. Moreover, the Secretary-General gave instructions to send to Haiti a technical team of administrative and logistic specialists, and we do not yet have any idea what assessment that team has made.

Under those circumstances, it is difficult for us to get a clear picture of what an advance team of 500 persons is going to be doing, even while its numbers are gradually being increased. The draft resolution as originally submitted also gave a very vague idea of the mandate of the group, and we were unable to glean any clear notion of the composition of the additional contingent that is to be sent to beef up the advance team.

We note that the sponsors did try to take account of our concerns, and to some extent the text of the draft resolution has been amended in respect of the mechanics of expanding the advance team and ensuring transparency, as well as in respect of clarifying and spelling out the mandate. Unfortunately, those amendments have not fully answered our questions.

We cannot fail to note for the nth time that there is a clear disproportion in the amount of attention given and reaction evidenced by the Security Council to one specific situation, even under conditions when the requirements set by the Council have certainly not been implemented and met, and, at the same time, in other circumstances the adoption of decisions relating to very acute situations

that actually pose a threat to international peace and security is dragged out. In our opinion, we are once again faced with a demonstration of double standards, which is simply intolerable in the activities of the Council, and this point was made by the Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrei Kozyrev, in his statement here on 17 October.

In light of what I have said, the Russian delegation will not be able to support the draft resolution and will abstain in the vote on it. We will, however, try to ensure full implementation of the demands made by the Security Council before consideration of the matter of a possible shift towards the second, United Nations, stage of the operation, as stipulated in paragraph 8 of resolution 940 (1994).

In conclusion, I would emphasize once again that our position does not in any way detract from Russia's true interest in ensuring a swift stabilization of the situation in Haiti. Our position is dictated exclusively by our desire to ensure respect for what has been established by way of standards and procedures in the Security Council.

The President: We shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/1354, as orally revised in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Argentina, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against: None

Abstaining: Brazil, Russian Federation

The President: The result of the voting is as follows: 13 votes in favour, none against and 2 abstentions. The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, has been adopted as resolution 964 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): Since the intervention of the Multinational Force in Haiti in peaceful conditions, which we sincerely welcome, the situation in Haiti has steadily improved. As stipulated in the Governors Island Agreement, President Aristide has returned to his country. He has initiated a genuine policy of national reconciliation and has designated a Prime Minister appreciated by all sectors of Haitian society. Mr. Smark Michel, in turn, has formed an open Government determined to implement a pragmatic programme to rebuild the country's institutions and economy. Human rights today are better respected. Violence, a daily occurrence prior to the intervention, has declined considerably, and while, owing to the persistent unrest, it is too early to see the establishment of a safe and stable environment in the provinces where the Multinational Force is not present, it cannot be denied that significant progress has been made in that direction. I should like once again to pay a tribute to the leaders and participants of the Multinational Force.

In this favourable context, my delegation believes that thought should be given, here and now, to the transition period and to the replacement of the multinational force by the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH). Because of its concern that this should be prepared for in the best possible conditions my delegation voted in favour of the resolution, by which it is decided to strengthen the advance team of UNMIH. Special emphasis should be placed on the training of the police and on the preparations for free and regular legislative elections.

My delegation wishes to recall the importance that we attach to this point in time, which is a crucial moment in the political life of Haiti and in the restoration of democracy. The United Nations should step up its preparations for the holding of this poll, and the Haitian Government should undertake without delay the measures that are within its competence. France is prepared to provide assistance with the arrangements for the elections.

France is participating in UNMIH through the provision of police and gendarmes. A contingent is already in place. France is prepared to make its contribution to the rebirth of this country. In addition to the usual economic and technical assistance, it is willing to help to rebuild its institutions and its legal system — prerequisites for the establishment of a state of law and political stability. A comprehensive programme of cooperation has been undertaken, and missions are visiting Haiti for this purpose with a view to supporting the efforts of the Government and of the international community.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese):* The Governors Island Agreement has been implemented with some success since President Aristide's

return to Haiti on 15 October 1994. The political situation in Haiti is moving towards stability. The security situation is improving, and people's lives are returning to normal.

Progress in the Haitian political settlement is inextricably linked to Security Council support. We therefore support the Secretary-General's proposal that the advance team of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) be gradually expanded to prepare and plan for the further role of the United Nations in the peace process. On the basis of its consistent support for the efforts of the Haitian people to achieve lasting peace, the Chinese delegation voted in favour of Security Council resolution 964 (1994), which has just been adopted.

The Chinese delegation wishes to put on record its reservations with regard to elements of resolution 964 (1994) concerning the multinational force. This force may have contributed to the establishment of a secure environment in Haiti. Our reservations are based on China's principled position concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes.

China has consistently complied with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and opposed interference in the internal affairs of other countries and the use or threat of the use of force in international relations. We expounded this position when the Council adopted resolution 940 (1994), which authorized military action in Haiti. Still less should resolution 964 (1994), which has just been adopted, be understood as an affirmation of this so-called formula.

As always, China will support the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, the Organization of American States and Latin American countries in their unremitting efforts to accelerate Haiti's peace process and restore its economy. We wish the Haitian people further progress in their continued efforts to overcome difficulties on the road to stability, peace and national reconstruction.

Mr. Cardenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: My country, acting in its capacity as a member of the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General for Haiti, was one of the sponsors of the resolution that has just been adopted. The basic purpose of this initiative is fully justified in the commendable report of the Secretary-General, in the extensive and timely explanations provided by his Special Representative for Haiti, Mr. Brahimi, to whom we express our full support, and, of course, in the terms of resolution 940 (1994) and the earlier resolutions.

We hope that the gradual and progressive strengthening of the advance team of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) will help to provide a safe and stable environment in the country, thus speeding up the orderly and proper transition from the multinational force to the United Nations operation.

The positive development of the situation in Haiti will continue to require the Council's active involvement. This is the basic point underlying Argentina's position, and it is the basis of the commitment that guided us in our decision to make available personnel and other resources for the two phases provided for in resolution 940 (1994).

Therefore, given the favourable trend of events in Haiti, the Argentine Republic continues to be optimistic that the efforts of this Organization will benefit the people of the country, who are the true depository of Haitian sovereignty.

We wish to thank all those — especially the many countries of the region — who, within the framework of the United Nations Charter, by participating in the multinational force or in the United Nations teams, are working together to secure the peaceful restoration of democracy in Haiti and the reconciliation of its people.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United States.

The United States is pleased to support this resolution endorsing the Secretary-General's recommendation to expand the advance team of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH). The resolution marks another step on the road to the full restoration of democracy in Haiti. This expansion will ease the transition from the multinational force in Haiti (MNF) to UNMIH and will help to ensure the success of both operations. As a friend of the Secretary-General for Haiti, my Government thanks the French delegation for its foresight in introducing the resolution.

To date, this operation has been a great success. In the two months and 10 days since the MNF deployed to Haiti, and in the six weeks since President Aristide returned to Haiti, we have witnessed a transformation in that country. Where once there was a dictatorship run through fear and oppression, now there are the beginnings of true democracy and hope for the people of Haiti. This Council should take heart from the fact that so much has been done in so short a time.

We note here the Secretary-General's observation that no acts of intimidation or violence against the United Nations or any other international presence have been reported. The operation in Haiti is poised to become a model for peace-keeping and international cooperation. In this regard, we support the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Brahimi, as he fulfils his duties and carries forward the project.

The resolution rightly commends the efforts of the MNF to establish a secure and stable environment in Haiti, while paying special tribute to President Aristide for his efforts to foster national reconciliation. The MNF and the international community are doing an outstanding job with Haitian restoration.

I was fortunate enough to be able to visit Haiti last week, and I can verify the progress cited in MNF reports and in those that I have given this Council. I met with President Aristide, Prime Minister Michel, members of the Cabinet and the political opposition. I visited with MNF troops and observed the training of the interim police force. Democracy is taking root in Haiti. Institutions are being rebuilt, and tough political issues are being debated in a democratic process — not settled through violence and intimidation.

Much remains to be done. However, we are on the right track, and this resolution keeps up the momentum. As the Secretary-General notes in his report, the UNMIH advance team is working closely with the MNF to prepare for the transition to UNMIH under the provisions of resolution 940 (1994). Expanding the size of the advance team will provide the planning flexibility necessary for that transition.

In asking that the Secretary-General inform the Council of increases and that these increases be coordinated with the MNF Commander, the resolution underscores the good planning and coordination that already characterize this operation. On the basis of progress to date, the benefits of such coordination speak for themselves.

Increasing the size of the UNMIH advance team in the careful fashion called for in this resolution makes a key contribution to this transition. It is the task of the MNF to establish a secure and stable environment so that the next phase — a political, economic and social rebuilding under the eye of UNMIH — can occur. The ultimate beneficiaries will not only be the United Nations and participating Member States but will be, most importantly, the people of Haiti.

I resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.